

THE INFLUENCE OF CULTURE ON PARENTING PRACTICES AND CHILDREN'S SOCIAL COMPETENCE: A MULTIPLE CASE STUDY

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Family Psychology

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Abstract

Across the literature in Aotearoa New Zealand, there are no known research studies that have explored the influence of culture on parenting practices and children's social competence among the three dominant cultures in Aotearoa New Zealand; New Zealand European, Māori and Asian (Chinese and Indian). Therefore, this study aimed to investigate whether culture influences parenting practices, and how these parents view their 3 to 6-year-old children's social competence. Eight families (16 mothers and fathers) responded to two questionnaires; one about their parenting practices and the other about their child's social competence. Mothers and fathers were also interviewed about their understanding of culture, and how their understanding may influence their parenting. For the questionnaire data, the results demonstrated that mothers' and fathers' reports were similar in regards to their child's social competence, and parent's reports on their child's social competence did not differ significantly between cultural groups. In regards to the qualitative data, results showed that all three cultural groups believed that routine-based parenting was important for parenting their child. Additionally, it was found that New Zealand European, Chinese and Indian parents all used firmer parenting practices than Māori parents. Chinese, Indian and Māori parents also expressed the importance of having a close connection with wider family/whānau, particularly in comparison to New Zealand European parents. A key finding of this study was the importance of culture with all parents from each cultural group acknowledging the important and unique role that culture plays in their parenting. This was articulated wonderfully by a Māori/NZ European father and summarises the thoughts of the other parents who participated in this study.

"I think that all New Zealander's, whether they identify as European or Māori or whatever, should see things like te reo as Tanga that they have some responsibility for fostering because it doesn't live anywhere else. Particularly, if you identify as Māori, it's something that you have responsibility for nurturing and exploring in yourself and your children" (Family 5, Father, Māori/New Zealand European).

Chapter One: Introduction

Parenting has previously been referred to as one of the most challenging tasks to effectively undertake, due to the immense pressure surrounding parents to nurture and raise independent and competent children who are important members of society (Pedro, Altafim, & Linhares, 2017). Morning, night, and every hour in between, parents are experiencing the rewards and discouragements that are inevitable during parenthood. Majority of the previous research on parenting attempts to better understand whether there is a such a thing as a ‘best way’ to parent (Marcone, Affuso, & Borrone, 2017; Otto et al., 2016). However, the more we explore parenting practices, the more we are beginning to understand the different factors that might influence one’s parenting practices. In order for us to continue to work towards a more comprehensive understanding about effective parenting practices, we need to consider the influential factors of parenting a child. These factors may include, but are not limited to, the parent’s own childhood experiences, or parent’s personal values for parenting their child. Examining these factors allow for meaningful comparisons to be made between parents, and give justification as to why parenting can vary so considerably. Another factor that has the potential to demonstrate similarities and differences among parents is culture. Culture’s ability to shape parenting practices stems from the actions and behaviours of past generations becoming embedded and forming the normal. Differences in parenting and understanding the practices and behaviours that are classified as normal across cultures is what drives the present study. Whilst parenting practices, styles and behaviours are often considered important in contributing to children’s social and non-social behaviours (Gryczkowski, Jordan, & Mercer, 2018; Marcone et al., 2017; Salari et al., 2014), the inclusion of culture as an overarching influential factor for both parenting practices and children’s social behaviours is less explored.

Defining Parenting

Parenting refers to the education, development and protection of one or more children in order to positively impact their personal developmental trajectories (McWayne, Mattis, & Hyun, 2017; Pedro et al., 2017). Parents are responsible for the health, safety and socialisation of their children until they are old enough to live without parental supervision (Jaffe, 1991). Parents are often defined by their biological relation to the child, whereby the parents are the mother and father who share genetic material with their children. However, parents can also refer to other biological and non-biological family members, including grandparents, aunties/uncles, step-parents or foster parents. For the purpose of this thesis, parenting will refer to the conventional definition, whereby the study will include the biological mothers and fathers.

From 0 to 6 years of age, children are beginning to form important developmental processes, including self-regulation and emotional competence (Housman, Denham, & Cabral, 2018). The development of self-regulation refers to children's ability to exhibit control over their everyday social behaviours, such as understanding and expressing emotions in an appropriate manner across all settings. Parenting practices play a large part in the types of behaviours children on daily basis, particularly during this important developmental time-period of 0 to 6 years of age (Kao, Nayak, Doan, & Tarullo, 2018).

Parenting practices refer to the specific behaviours and approaches a parent uses during a child's development (Gryczkowski et al., 2018). Parenting practices can be both positive and negative for a child's development, depending on the strategies used. Positive parenting practices include the warm, encouraging, supportive and responsive strategies which allow for more positive developmental outcomes in children, including higher school grades, better mental health, higher social competence and increased self-esteem (Amato & Fowler, 2002; Clauss-Ehlers, 2017). In comparison, negative parenting practices include

physiological control, demandingness, hostility and harsh punishment. These practices have the potential to negatively impact children's developmental outcomes have been associated with externalising problems, peer relation difficulties and lower self-concept (Bhide, Sciberras, Anderson, Hazell, & Nicholson, 2017; Wolford, Cooper, & McWey, 2018). In addition to parenting practices, there is the concept of parenting styles (Amato & Fowler, 2002).

Parenting styles represent the broader patterns of parenting practices, and have been described as the emotional climate in which parents use differing levels of responsiveness and demandingness (Spera, 2005). Previous research has shown that parenting styles are significantly associated with children's developmental outcomes, such as children's developmental outcomes such as children's social and non-social behaviours (Hart, Newell, & Olsen, 2003). There are four key parenting styles which all represent the varying levels of responsiveness and demandingness of parenting; authoritative (responsive and demanding), authoritarian (unresponsive and demanding), permissive (responsive and undemanding), and neglectful (unresponsive and undemanding) (Spera, 2005). The authoritarian parenting style is often associated with positive adjustments in children, such as having the ability to regulate emotions in a positive way and have an increased sense of autonomy. By contrast, the authoritarian parenting style is related to more maladaptive behaviours, such as negative peer affiliation, low self-esteem and poor school achievement. Lastly, the permissive parenting style has shown to be related to negative coping skills and difficulty respecting others (Hart et al., 2003; Marcone et al., 2017). However, these parenting styles are not to be considered in isolation of one another, as different elements of each parenting style may be used in different situations. This flexibility also attributes to the variability of parenting styles among different cultures, as cultural norms have a substantial impact on the types of parenting styles that are displayed by parents (Lansford et al., 2018).

Defining Culture

Every culture is characterized by the deeply rooted ideologies and beliefs about how we need to act, feel and think as functioning members of the culture (Bornstein, 2012). Variances in behaviours and thoughts may be due to the differentiating idea of what is normal for a particular cultural group. Culture can be defined as the unique and differentiating patterns of attitudes, behaviours and symbols that are shared by a group of people that help to regulate their daily living. These attitudes, behaviours and symbols also provide a bases for forming a sense of cultural identity within a particular cultural group (Shiraev & Levy, 2017). First, attitudes include the particular shared beliefs (religious, political, ideological and moral), values, general knowledge and opinions. Secondly, behaviours refer to the culturally defined norms, traditions, habits and customs that are unique to each cultural group. Lastly, symbols represent a specific meaning and may be passed on to the next generation. Such symbols may include a material object, colour, a slogan, a sound or something else of significance to that particular cultural group (Shiraev & Levy, 2017). For example, a piece of land might mean very little to one group of people, but for another group of people, the piece of land is of great significance because of its symbol of unity and glory (Shiraev & Levy, 2017). Whether you are raised in a city, town or small village, in a snowy or humid climate, people learn how to adapt and understand the events around them according to the wishes of their parents, cultural constructions, social requirements and traditions of past ancestors (Shiraev & Levy, 2017). Thus, differences across cultures and their perspectives on human life provide a basis in which to compare them.

Culture encompasses a “pattern of meanings”, which have been passed down over time (Griswold, 2008). In this way, human life changes depending on cultural norms and the extent to which it changes or remains the same over generations. Parents may choose to pass

down traditions and beliefs onto their children, as a way to maintain and preserve the important customs from their own upbringing. However, some parents may believe that passing on these customs from their own cultural upbringing is not an important value, and new traditions and beliefs may be generated. Unfortunately, in some circumstances, changes in traditions and beliefs are involuntary. Throughout history, colonisation has impacted the foreign-born individuals who were the first to settle in a particular country. Over time, the effects of colonisation have had the potential to lead to both acculturation and assimilation among minority cultures (Hill, Lau, & Sue, 2010). Acculturation refers to the psychological change that occurs during the process of forming a new cultural identity, due to the dominant host culture inflicting a larger influence over the minority culture. In contrast, assimilation refers to the way people inherit the social and psychological characteristics of the dominant group, losing their more traditional identity in the process (Hill et al., 2010). Some of the changes that can occur among the minority culture include customs, diets, language, healthcare, clothing and religious practices in order to align more closely to the dominant culture. These changes have the potential to alternate the types of practices that were once customary to a particular culture, which may then see patterns of behaviours merge and overlap with practices of the dominant culture.

Culture and one's cultural identity embodies a significant portion of how society is constructed and how individuals construct themselves. Whilst one's ability to practice aspects of their cultural identity is easily recognised and distinguishable, some practices may be more elusive. For instance, it has been shown that parents from different cultures conduct their parenting in vastly different ways, yet it is not always strictly identifiable. It is believed that culture provides an important understanding for the variations of parenting practices in society and is worth exploring further.

Parenting and Culture

Cultural variations of parenting and child-rearing practices have been shown to exert a significant influence on young children's emotional, mental and social development (Bornstein, Putnick, & Lansford, 2011). Children's immediate and wider social networks vary from culture to culture, which then influences various socialization and enculturation patterns (Bornstein et al., 2011). Different cultural groups possess unique beliefs and approaches to their parenting and culture is maintained by influencing parental cognitions that shape parenting practices. Bornstein (2012) uses the example of language, where some cultures will see their infants as "comprehending interactive partners" (p.213), and will speak to their infants daily even before the infants have produced any language of their own. However, in some other societies, speaking to infants before they are able to speak themselves is seen as nonsensical.

As discussed by Rubin and Chung (2006), cross-cultural comparisons show that nearly all aspects of parenting are informed by culture. For instance, it has been noted that culture shapes parents' expectations of their children far more than other factors, such as advice from other parents and friends and comparing their children to other children (Rubin & Chung, 2006). Differences in the ideology of culture make for subtle, but significant differences in the patterns of parent-child interactions (Rubin & Chung, 2006). For example, when asked to describe an ideal child, European American mothers emphasized independence, assertiveness and creativity. In comparison, Latin American mothers emphasized the importance of respect of others and obedience. These differences in cultural expectations and ideals are telling of the types of practices that parents will implement when parenting their children.

As culture embodies generations of attitudes, behaviours and beliefs, parenting across cultures has the potential to be influenced by the many practices used by other family

members in the past. Parents learn a great deal of knowledge about parenting from their upbringing (Neppl, Conger, Scaramella, & Ontai, 2009) and it is possible that the learned cultural aspects of parenting are no different. It is important to recognise the influential factor of generational influences on culture and parenting, as it has allowed for unique patterns of parenting behaviours to continue and progress. Additionally, these parenting behaviours allow for variations in children's behaviour, which help to define culture and the transmission of cultural practices across generations.

New Zealand Context

In 1840, the British Crown and Māori chiefs signed a treaty to allow the British settlers and the native Māori population to live together under common law and agreements. In the present day, nearly three-quarters of the Aotearoa New Zealand population identify as New Zealand European (74%) (New Zealand Statistics, 2014). In comparison, the next major ethnic group identify as Māori, making up 14.9% of the population. Whilst Aotearoa New Zealand is referred to as a bicultural nation, there are a number of other ethnic groups that have immigrated to Aotearoa New Zealand over the years. For instance, the latest census data collected in 2013 indicated that 11.8% of the population identified as one or more Asian ethnic groups, with the top two Asian demographics in New Zealand identifying as Chinese (36.3%) and Indian (32.9%) (Statistics New Zealand, 2014).

Families in Aotearoa New Zealand have changed significantly over the past 50 years, especially in regards to family structures (Ritchie, 2007). For instance, women are more likely to live with their partner before they are married and are having fewer children at an older age. In addition, Māori families differ to New Zealand European (Pakeha) families in many ways. Māori parents are more likely to have more children and start creating a family at a younger age, whilst also having more help and involvement from their wider whānau

(family), such as grandparents and other whānau members in comparison to New Zealand European families. More specifically, traditional Māori practices encompass the notion of whakapapa (genealogy), where children are placed in a wider context and are linked to all of those who have gone before (Ritchie, 2007).

Among the indigenous populations all over the world, experiences of marginalisation, discrimination and enculturation are due to the process of colonisation, and have contributed to the many disadvantages that have been recorded, such as socio-economic outcomes, health and well-being (Keown, Sanders, Franke, & Shepherd, 2018; Mitrou et al., 2014). Māori, the Aotearoa New Zealand indigenous population, have had to adjust and change large parts of their cultural identity, including the language of te reo Māori and several long-standing traditions. This change in customary practices stemmed from the effects of colonisation, and the acts of discrimination that occurred among the dominant culture throughout history. Whilst progress is being made towards re-establishing Māori culture within Aotearoa New Zealand society, such as the effort to introduce te reo Māori into the school curriculum, the Māori population are often marginalised in the New Zealand statistics, whether it is in regards to health problems, education outcomes or prison populations. For instance, it is estimated that Māori children aged 3-14 years of age are more likely to experience hyperactivity, peer difficulties and conduct problems compared to non-Māori children, with the biggest concern relating to conduct problems (Ministry of Health, 2018). However, Māori have been significantly underrepresented in research and there is a need to include them in order to understand the complexity of culture and its ability to shape and influence parenting practices. At present, there are only a limited number of research papers which have tried to understand the intricacy of culture and parenting practices in Aotearoa New Zealand.

More recently, the New Zealand Government is working on a Child Well-Being Strategy to try and improve the lives of all children living in Aotearoa New Zealand,

including New Zealand European, Māori and Asian populations. Whilst some focus areas include poverty reduction and educational outcomes, a large focus is on children's ability to thrive through the improvement of family/whānau living. In a report released by The Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (2018), they state that children are thriving socially, emotionally and developmentally from the ages of two to six. Therefore, it was important to examine parenting practices used during early childhood development period to gain more of an understanding of how these practices may be contributing to the positive wellbeing of young children in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Previous research in Aotearoa New Zealand has only just begun to scrape the surface of the cultural variations that are present among the three major ethnicities in Aotearoa New Zealand, through studies which examine culture in isolation of the other dominant cultures. Furthermore, there is a lack of in depth qualitative research, which has the ability to gather rich, important data for recognising and appreciating the differences and variations among the New Zealand European, Māori and Asian populations, as described by individual parents. At the present time, there is no research in New Zealand that has included the Asian population and compared and contrasted their parenting practices alongside New Zealand European and Māori parents. Furthermore, although parenting practices have been evaluated alongside children's behaviours, there is no known research which was examined parenting practices and children's behaviour internationally, as well as among the three dominant cultures in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Research Aims

This study aims to understand the parenting practices and similarities and differences used by New Zealand European, Māori and Asian (Chinese and Indian) cultural groups living in Aotearoa New Zealand. The study will also examine whether there are any differences and

similarities among parent's reports of their child's social competence in relation to their cultural grouping. The research questions will be answered through the use of a case study mixed-method design, where the parents from each family will be asked to complete two self-report questionnaires and participate in a semi-structured interview.

The results and outcomes of this study have the potential to impact a number of organisations in Aotearoa New Zealand and provide evidence about the associations between culture and parenting. For instance, early childhood centres may benefit from the information provided, as they will be able to further understand the similarities and differences in parenting practices across cultures, particularly with those parents who have children enrolled in their services, and how this influences their children's social behaviour at the early childhood centre. Secondly, this information may be important for educators, as they may be able to better understand and appreciate the perspectives of the parents who are present in the setting. This might help educators relate to parents more effectively and be able to better support them. In addition, the results of this study could be considered useful in light of the current government climate and the progression of the Child Well-being Strategy. For instance, understanding the role of culture on parenting may allow government representatives to better understand parents, which may then allow us to better support them in their parenting practices and their journey as parents. Through this support, it is possible that additions can be made to such government strategies, and young tamariki (children) will have the opportunity to grow to be healthy and strong whilst living in Aotearoa New Zealand. Furthermore, Plunket and other forms of parenting support services in Aotearoa New Zealand, and use this information can be used to inform, modify and/or adjust the current understandings about their client's parenting behaviours. Whilst there are implications for organisations in Aotearoa New Zealand, there are also important practical and theoretical implications that are expected to result from this study. The results of this study will provide

will help inform and add to the national and international research on culture, and how culture can be influential factor for individual's actions and behaviours. More specifically, the information will help inform the research on parenting practices and culture, particularly in regards to establishing the similarities and differences that are portrayed by different cultures residing together in one country.

The next Chapter of this thesis will include a review of the literature surrounding culture and parenting practices, as well as how culture and parenting practices influence children's social behaviours. Following the literature review, Chapter Three will describe the methodological approach of this study and Chapter Four will present the key findings from this study. Finally, Chapter Five will provide a discussion of the results, as well as the strengths, limitations, implications, and suggestions for future research.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Whilst there is a significant body of international research on the influence of parenting practices on children's behaviour, there is no known research to explore the influences of culture on parenting practices and child's behaviour among the three dominant cultures in New Zealand. The following Chapter will present the current research on a number of overseas studies on culture, parenting practices and children's behaviour, as well as a select number of New Zealand studies which have explored how culture influences parenting practices, however, cultures are examined in isolation to one another.

Parenting Practices and Children's Behaviour

Several studies have emphasized the importance of positive parenting practices on the outcome of children's positive behaviour (Farrant, Devine, Maybery, & Fletcher, 2012; Zvara, Sheppard, & Cox, 2018). For example, mothers who are able to regularly engage in empathetic emotions, such as taking the perspective of others, are more likely to encourage their children to do the same, therefore, increasing their children's prosocial behaviours (Farrant et al., 2012). In comparison, negative parenting practices have the potential to be harmful to the development of children's social behaviours. In a study conducted by Neece, Green, and Baker (2012) it was found that high parenting stress was associated with an increase in child behaviour problems, including temper tantrums and aggression. This association is often referred to as a bidirectional relationship, whereby children's behaviours are considered to effect parenting practices, just as much as parenting practices effect children's behaviours. Therefore, negative parenting behaviours can be considered both an antecedent and consequence of child behaviour problems. Moreover, Zvara et al. (2018) found that children's behaviour problems were more likely to predict mothers' sensitivity. This is not a bidirectional relationship, as mothers' sensitivity did not predict children's

behaviour problems. Additionally, Zvara et al. (2018) found that father's sensitivity had more of an effect on children's behaviour problems than mothers' sensitivity. These findings highlight the need for research to consider the similarities and differences between mothers' and fathers' parenting practices and the impact on young children's development.

Maternal vs. paternal parenting. Significant differences have been found between maternal and paternal parenting practices (Kawabata & Crick, 2016; S. Xing et al., 2017). For instance, research has shown that during the early years, mothers are more influential on their children's development compared to fathers (Besnard et al., 2013; Kawabata & Crick, 2016; Scott, Nelson, & Dix, 2018). Scott et al. (2018) found that mother-child interdependence was more prominent in the earlier stages of child development, whereas father-child interdependence was achieved at a later stage of development, such as middle childhood. This may be due to the early nurturing and caregiving behaviours of the maternal role becoming less salient in middle childhood, and more mentorship-orientated aspects of the paternal role may become more influential (Gryczkowski, Jordan, & Mercer, 2010; Scott et al., 2018). S. Xing et al. (2017) examined the influence of Chinese mothers' and fathers' psychological control on preschool children's socio-emotional development. They found that maternal psychological control was highly predictive of children's behavioural problems and prosocial behaviours, whereas paternal psychological control was unrelated to children's socio-emotional development. Additionally, Xing, Zhang, Shao, and Wang (2017) found that Chinese preschool children's negative emotionality was significantly associated with maternal psychological aggression and corporal punishment, but not paternal. These findings suggest that when parents use similar parenting practices, it is possible for them to have different impacts on the child. However, it is possible that in China, fathers may be less emotionally available to their children due to the societal expectations of fathers to be the

primary income provider, thus, working longer hours (X. Xing et al., 2017). However, these findings are limited to one cultural group and may not generalise across other cultural groups. Moreover, Besnard et al. (2013) examined the influence of mothers and fathers parenting behaviours on a large sample of young children in Canada, and found that mothers parenting and behaviours were most influential at the beginning of kindergarten, but as children reached grade 2, both mothers and fathers had a similar influential impact on their children's development. Although this was a relatively homogenous sample of Canadian Europeans, the overall findings build on and contribute to the work on paternal and maternal parenting and the differential influence on their young children.

The differences in parenting practices between mothers and fathers have the potential to influence children's behaviour (Rinaldi & Howe, 2012; Tavassolie, Dudding, Madigan, Thorvardarson, & Winsler, 2016; X. Xing et al., 2017). It has been found that mothers negative parenting practices, such as harsh punishments and/or emotional abuse, can be damaging the positive social development of both boys and girls (Kawabata & Crick, 2016; Ruiz-Ortiz, Braza, Carreras, & Muñoz, 2017). In comparison, fathers negative parenting practices may be more damaging to the social development of girls, but not boys (Gryczkowski et al., 2010). Ruiz-Ortiz et al. (2017) examined maternal and parental parenting practices on prosocial and antisocial behaviours of Spanish children in middle childhood. The results indicated that warm and inductive parenting from both parents increased adaptive skills (leadership and social skills) for both boys and girls, whereas maternal and paternal hostility increased externalizing behaviours (aggression and hyperactivity) for both boys and girls. However, maternal coercion and inconsistency of parenting practices, rather than paternal, was damaging to the development of positive adaptive skills amongst boys and girls and increased externalising behaviours in girls only. Similarly, Kawabata and Crick (2016) found that maternal coercion and relational aggression

(e.g. social exclusion) was associated with peer-orientated relational and physical aggression in both boys and girls, however, greater paternal conflict and hostility, rather than maternal, was related to an increase in physical aggression among both boys and girls. These findings provide evidence to suggest that as children grow older, fathers start to become more influential in regards to their child's behaviour. Although this study established some interesting results, one limitation to the research is that mothers and fathers behaviours were obtained through self-reports completed by the children, who were between the ages of 10-12. There is a possibility that children's responses were biased, depending on how positive or negative their feelings were towards their parents at the time of assessment. Although valuable information could have been gathered from mothers' and fathers' self-reports, they were not given the opportunity to contribute their ideas and beliefs to the research study.

Although previous studies have examined the similarities and differences between mothers' and fathers' parenting practices and children's behaviours, it is worth considering the impact of intergenerational parenting, and whether parenting attitudes and beliefs are able to be passed down through generations, and therefore, effect the types of behaviours displayed by young children.

Intergenerational parenting. Several studies have examined the intergenerational continuity of behaviours between grandparents, parents and children (Neppl et al., 2009). Generally, they show that there is a direct link between one generation of parenting behaviour and the next generations parenting behaviour as adults (Madden et al., 2015; Yan, Han, & Li, 2016). Furthermore, research suggests that antisocial behaviours observed from the parent's childhood has the potential to lead to antisocial behaviours in their offspring (Raudino, Fergusson, Woodward, & Horwood, 2013; Thornberry, Freeman-Gallant, & Lovegrove, 2009). In a study conducted by Yan et al. (2016), fathers from two major cities in China

completed three questionnaires regarding their perceptions on their parents' parenting, reflecting on their own levels of emotional awareness and self-regulation, as well as how they cope with their children's behaviour. The findings revealed that the parents who used more supportive child-rearing practices were more likely to have experienced positive parental care from their own parents. In contrast, parents who believed that they experienced parental over-protection from their own parents used less supportive emotional parenting towards their children. Although this study examines a relatively large non-Western population of China, it is a relatively homogenous sample, limiting the ability for comparisons to be made across cultures. Additionally, this study was entirely quantitative, which has the potential to effect the overall social desirability bias, and does not provide the in-depth information about the nuances between intergenerational parenting practices that may be gained from qualitative measures such as interviews. In comparison, Neppl et al. (2009) used longitudinal observational data, which included four family tasks which were video-taped and coded by trained observers, from the years 1989-1992. Furthermore, the same observation procedure was used to assess parenting between the years of 1997-2003. The results showed that grandparents (G1) harsh parenting was predictive of parents (G2) harsh parenting, and grandparents (G1) positive parenting was predictive of parents (G2) positive parenting. Additionally, grandparents (G1) harsh parenting did not lead to parents (G2) positive parenting, and grandparents (G1) positive parenting did not lead to parents (G2) harsh parenting. These findings suggest that parents learn both specific and related child-rearing behaviours from their own parents and imitate these practices with their own children. In addition, there is evidence to suggest that grandfathers are less likely than grandmothers to influence the intergenerational transmission of parenting behaviours. For example, Madden et al. (2015) found that a higher level of affection by grandmothers (G1) increased positive parenting practices among fathers (G2), as well as higher levels of control by grandmothers

(G1) lowered parental engagement levels among mothers (G2). Interestingly, it was found that none of the parenting variables displayed by grandfathers (G1) were associated with the parenting behaviours among mothers and fathers (G2) (Madden et al., 2015).

Furthermore, studies are also beginning to investigate the potential influence of a supportive romantic partner, as a way to disrupt the intergenerational transmission of harsh and negative parenting practices (Conger, Schofield, Neppl, & Merrick, 2013; Schofield, Conger, & Conger, 2017). For example, Schofield et al. (2017) found that when there was a history of harsh parenting from grandparents towards parents, parents were relatively less harsh towards their children when the parent had a romantic partner who was supportive and positive, and had a positive relationship with the child. Likewise, Conger et al. (2013) found similar results. However, Conger et al. (2013) continued to discuss the possibility that grandparent's harsh parenting had the potential to reduce the likelihood of parents finding a romantic relationship with a supportive partner. As discussed by Raudino et al. (2013), it is common for assortative mating to occur, which refers to individuals choosing to partner with personalities similar to themselves. Although this study included a large, longitudinal sample size, the majority of the population was made up of European-American participants. Therefore, it would be necessary to include a more participants from diverse cultures in order to determine whether it is possible for supportive partners to disrupt the intergenerational transmission of harsh parenting among different cultures.

The continuity of parenting behaviours and their transmission onto the younger generation is a widely discussed topic (Raudino et al., 2013; Smith & Farrington, 2004; Thornberry et al., 2009). Research suggests that parental antisocial behaviour during their adolescent period is related to their own children's antisocial behaviour (Thornberry et al., 2009). In particular, Thornberry et al. (2009) found that mothers and fathers who displayed antisocial behaviours during adolescence (e.g. drug use and delinquency) and had an on-

going active role in their child's life are more likely to create subsequent risk for their children's antisocial behaviours. Interestingly, this association was not observed for mothers or fathers who only saw their child sporadically. This may be a result of the limited time spent with their child for any adverse effects to take place. However, effective parenting practices were seen to be compromised by their adolescent antisocial behaviours and parenting stress, and had a direct effect on their child's antisocial behaviours. Similarly, in a study which uses data from the Christchurch Health and Development Study in Aotearoa New Zealand, Raudino et al. (2013) found that the intergenerational transmission of conduct problems was mediated by parenting behaviours, in particular, parental over-reactivity. These findings suggest that both antisocial behaviours and conduct problems are a social learning process, where parental antisocial behaviours increase the likelihood of ineffective parenting practices, and exposure to ineffective parenting practices increases the likelihood of antisocial behaviours in children. This study is one of few studies which use a longitudinal design whilst also incorporating the Aotearoa New Zealand context. However, this study does not include details about the ethnic representation of the sample, so conclusions surrounding the variations among cultures in Aotearoa New Zealand cannot be drawn.

Previous studies addressing the intergenerational transmission of parenting practices and early parental antisocial behaviours have often relied on quantitative data. The methodological limitations associated with the studies reviewed thus far can be reduced by employing a mixed-methods approach with the inclusion of both quantitative and qualitative data from both mothers and fathers. This methodological approach will also provide a more comprehensive understanding about the complexities around the influence of culture on parenting practices and child behaviour and whether this differs for each of the dominant cultures in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Cultural influences. A growing body of research indicates that cultural differences are important to consider when it comes to parenting behaviours and children's behaviour (J. J. Chen, Sun, & Yu, 2017; Lansford et al., 2018). Cultural contexts allow both parents and children to experience and understanding cultural norms and expectations about parenting and how parents should behave with their children (Lansford et al., 2018). Fiorilli, De Stasio, Di Chicchio, and Chan (2015) found that Chinese mothers were more likely than Italian mothers to respond to their children's emotional expressions through the use of coaching strategies as a way to teach them how to express and regulate their emotions appropriately. Fiorilli et al. (2015) states that these more directive strategies are reflective of the Chinese cultural belief that children are unable to appropriately understand and make decisions that are for their own best interest. Interestingly, both of these studies expected to see more significant results regarding the cultural differences between Chinese culture and Western cultural groups. For instance, although Liu and Guo (2010) found that Chinese mothers were more authoritarian focused than Canadian mothers, Chinese mothers still displayed more authoritative parenting practices than authoritarian. Likewise, Helwig, To, Wang, Liu, and Yang (2014) expected that Chinese participants would perceive discipline in the form of shaming and love withdrawal less negatively compared to Canadian parents. However, although this result was noticed, the differences between cultures was not as significant as expected. Liu and Guo (2010) state that this may be caused by the western ideologies around parenting practices being introduced to Chinese culture through rapid globalisation and modernisation.

Gryczkowski et al. (2018) examined the relationship between parenting practices and children's social behaviours among an ethnically diverse sample. The results indicated that European American mothers who were more positive in their parenting behaviours (i.e. parental warmth) tended to have children who demonstrated more prosocial behaviours. The

same was not true for African American children's behaviour. In comparison, African American children were less likely to display prosocial behaviours despite the influence of positive parenting from their mothers. This finding suggests that parental warmth may not function in the same way across culture and there may be other parenting strategies that promote children's prosocial behaviour. Similarly, Javo, Rønning, Heyerdahl, and Rudmin (2004) examined the association between parenting and child behaviour problems between the indigenous (Sami) and the majority (Norwegians) population of Norway. The results showed that Sami boys benefited from a more disciplinary parenting style in comparison to Norwegian boys, adding to the notion that there are a number of parenting behaviours that do not operate in the same way across cultures even when in the same country. Despite these studies comparing and contrasting both the minority groups and the majority groups, there are some limitations. Firstly, Javo et al. (2004) only included parents of four-year old children. Therefore, including a broader age group may have produced different conclusions. Furthermore, Gryczkowski et al. (2018) used a quantitative design method, which only included self-report data. With the inclusion of qualitative methods, such as an interview, a more in depth understanding of parenting and culture may have been achieved.

The results from these studies highlight the differences in parenting practices between cultures and the impact this can have on young children's behaviour. To date, there has been no known research conducted exploring the potential differences in parenting practices of parents from the three dominant cultures in Aotearoa New Zealand. Thus, this research will explore the similarities and differences between New Zealand European, Māori, and Asian (Chinese and Indian) cultures to determine ways in which their parenting practices reflect important and unique cultural beliefs and attitudes and how this might influence child behaviour.

New Zealand European Families

There are a limited number of studies that have sought to investigate the way in which New Zealand European families function. This may be due to the similarities between New Zealand European families and other European cultures. In Aotearoa New Zealand, the European population sits at approximately 76%. Therefore, like other majority ethnic groups, New Zealand European families follow similar dynamics to other European cultures. For instance, New Zealand European families are more likely to consist of a nuclear structure (two-parent families with children) (Cribb, 2009). However, Cribb (2009) identified that de-facto relationships and step-parenting is also common among New Zealand families. In regards to the parenting practices that are used among New Zealand European families, Abel, Park, Tipene-Leach, Finau, and Lennan (2001) found that New Zealand European mothers relied on their husband/partners as a main source of practical and emotional support, as well as professional practices and friends for other types of support, such as adding another helping hand and sharing advice between one another. Similarly, Witten, Kearns, McCreanor, Penney, and Faalau (2009) discuss the notion that Pakeha parents place less significance on familial connections in comparison to Māori and Samoan parents. Therefore, extended family members, such as grandparents, auntie and uncles, are less involved in the child raising process among New Zealand European parents (Witten et al., 2009).

Reese et al. (2016) investigated the aspirations of parents from a range of cultures in Aotearoa New Zealand. Parents were asked to rate their most important aspirations for their future children's development, such as self-actualization, psychological outcomes, safety, belonging and self-esteem. Cultural variation was found between the parents, particularly in regards to independence and interdependence. For instance, New Zealand European mothers were most likely to express their desire for their children's development of self-actualization, such as wanting their children to have the opportunity to complete their desired goals,

without struggling. These differences are not surprising, given New Zealand European's emphasis on independence in comparison to Māori, Pacific and Asian cultures (Reese et al., 2016).

Cartwright (2010) conducted a study that explored the parenting practices of step-families in Aotearoa New Zealand. Participants included 66 families from Auckland New Zealand, in which 41 identified as New Zealand European. When the participants were asked the question "as the parent, what roles or activities do you continue with your children?", majority of the responses related to child care routines. Routines such as showering, eating, dressing and reading to the child in bed were all considered to be highly important for day to day living. This finding suggests that New Zealand European families value the importance of a routine based structure for assisting parents with various daily activities with their children.

Previous research has provided some empirical findings on the ways in which New Zealand European families function, as well as the differences in parenting practices between cultural groups. However, similar differences are yet to be explored between the three dominant cultural groups in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Māori Families

There are a number of studies that have sought to investigate the different types of parenting practices among Māori (Eketone, 2012; Jones, Barber, Nikora, & Middlemiss, 2017; Tipene-Leach, Abel, Finau, Park, & Lenna, 2000). Commonly, Māori parenting practices and New Zealand European parenting practices are compared and contrasted in order to determine the potential commonalities and disparities between the two cultures. It has been shown that Māori are more likely to value wider family relationships and connections compared to New Zealand European. For instance, in a study conducted by Abel

et al. (2001), Māori parents were more likely to have the ongoing support of their wider whānau in regards to caring for their infant child, and seek different pieces of advice from their family members. In comparison, New Zealand European parents were far more likely to diminish the role of the extended family, and seek help from health-care professionals before the extended family. These differences among Māori and New Zealand European parenting practices were also shown in Tipene-Leach et al. (2000) study, however, some Māori parents were more likely to adhere to a more New Zealand European approach to parenting, including less advice seeking practices from wider family members, and relying on more modern medical facilities for their infant. According to Weatherall and Wilson (2007) these differences may relate to the type of environment that these Māori parents are raising their children. For example, more traditional Māori practices may be due to a rural upbringing and setting, where as a less traditional approach to parenting may occur in more urbanized settings, suggesting the possibility that approaches to parenting practices can differ within one cultural group due to their context and location.

Jones et al. (2017) conducted semi-structured, face to face interviews with 10 Māori mothers and fathers. Interviews were used to shed light on the experiences, thoughts and emotions of sleep routines and sleep care practices with children between the ages of 2 months and 2 years of age. It was found that all parents expressed the desire for sleeping separately to their child, however, there were some parents who struggled to attend to their child in the night and ended up co-sleeping for convenience. Similarly to the findings of Abel et al. (2001), it was found that a number of participants spoke about how past experiences such as observations of nieces and nephews and advice from different whānau members has influenced their decisions around parenting and bedtime routines. Jones et al. (2017) noted that parents were more likely to use parent-assisted soothing techniques such as feeding, lying with the baby or rocking the baby to sleep, rather than self-soothing techniques for

getting their baby to sleep at night. Whilst this study provides further knowledge on sleep practices of Māori mothers, it's important to note that these previous research studies have focused on infant care practices. Therefore, it is difficult to generalise these findings to Māori parents who have preschool and new entrance aged children, when this developmental period may require some changes in parenting practices. Additionally, although Jones et al. (2017) interviewed parents in order to gather in depth information, there were only two fathers in the study and eight mothers. It would be worthy to include a larger sample of fathers, as it has been shown that their approach to parenting may be different to mothers, and therefore, worth exploring further (Kawabata & Crick, 2016).

Māori-New Zealand European Children in New Zealand. An important perspective to discuss is the multiethnic families in Aotearoa New Zealand, and how this relates to Māori-New Zealand European children's identity. Kukutai (2007) examined the important role that multiethnic families have in Aotearoa New Zealand, and how parents from the dominant cultural group (New Zealand European) play an important role in maintaining and transmitting ethnic diversity. From his study, Kukutai (2007) found that New Zealand European mothers were just as likely as Māori mothers to identify their child as Māori, when married to Māori partner. However, this transmission of a Māori cultural identity among children begins to diminish when both of the parental profiles identify as predominately New Zealand European. For instance, Kukutai (2007) found that a large majority of multiethnic marriages constitute as one partner identifying as both Māori/New Zealand European and the other as New Zealand European. Therefore, it is possible that more traditional Māori cultural practices and values may begin to reduce over time as the family becomes more New Zealand European, and family members may lose their sense of cultural belonging during this process.

This section has reviewed the small number of qualitative studies examining parenting practices among Māori parents in Aotearoa New Zealand. Whilst these studies

provide important empirical data on Māori parents' interpretations of their own parenting styles, limited research has been conducted on the influence of culture on parenting children during early childhood (Abel et al., 2001). Furthermore, no studies have compared the cultural differences among Māori families and New Zealand European and Asian families which are the three dominant cultures in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Asian Families

Whilst the continent of Asia encompasses a wide variety of ethnicities, the Asian population with the highest demographic in Aotearoa New Zealand is Chinese and Indian. Therefore, these are the two ethnicities that will be focused on throughout this section of the literature review.

Chinese families. Parenting has previously been referred to as a complex human endeavour (J. J. Chen et al., 2017). However, it may be even more complex for immigrant parents who are trying to balance two differing, and at times competing, sets of parenting values and beliefs from their heritage culture and host culture. Among the literature, Chinese immigrant families are often said to be actively balancing differing parental cognitions, including child rearing ideologies, goals and expectations (J. J. Chen et al., 2017). For instance, Cheah, Leung, and Zhou (2013) found that Chinese immigrant mothers were able to coherently identify the differentiating patterns of parenting behaviour between the Chinese culture and American culture. They specifically discussed the use of parental authority and harsher discipline influenced by their Chinese culture in comparison to the more encouraging and praise-based parenting in the US. In regards to harsher parental discipline among Chinese immigrant parents, Yu, Cheah, and Calvin (2016) found that Chinese parents who adopted an American orientation to their lifestyle were more likely to have an authoritative approach to their parenting, a prevalent parenting style in Western cultures. Yu et al. (2016) state that the

process of acculturation has the potential to be a protective factor, as an American orientation also increased parent's positive psychological well-being, as well as benefitting children's adaptive development in the preschool years. Likewise, J. J. L. Chen, Chen, and Zheng (2012) interviewed 12 Chinese immigrant mothers in New York City and New Jersey with children between the ages of 2 and 6. They found that parents who had resided in United States for a longer period of time were more likely to adhere to authoritative parenting practices. However, one participant had resided in the United States for 18 years, and continued to use authoritarian approaches to their parenting. It is possible that this parent values the more traditional child-rearing practices of Chinese culture, and has continued to maintain these, despite residing and raising a child in a Western culture.

Studies involving Chinese immigrant families in Aotearoa New Zealand are limited, but more recent research has included Chinese participants, potentially due to the rise in this population throughout Aotearoa New Zealand. For instance, Chan (2017) interviewed 10 Chinese mothers with children in numerous early childhood education centres (ECE) around the city of Auckland. It was found that mothers identified a number of heritage practices that were worth maintaining, such as practices that helped encourage the use of mathematic learning styles that are said to be 'Chinese specific'. Additionally, Chinese mothers were also realistic about their child's ability to maintain their native Chinese language, as New Zealand ECE's only speak English and it is likely that their native language will deteriorate over time. Overall, Chan (2017) stated that the parents were active agents in their decisions regarding their parenting practices. It was important for these parents to be culturally flexible as they navigated the cultural expectations of the two countries they identify with. Therefore, parents were often learning and adapting new practices from the host country, as well as relinquishing particular cultural practices that were no longer considered applicable and maintainable in their new context. Although this study opens new pathways for exploring

parenting practices among Chinese in Aotearoa New Zealand, it does not allow for comparisons to be drawn between other cultures in Aotearoa New Zealand, especially among New Zealand European, Māori families and other Asian cultures, such as Indian families.

Indian families. In India, the family is a key social structure that exerts a large influence on the lives of all of its members (Tuli, 2012). As described by Tuli (2012) individuals in India are known and identified by their family name. Additionally, a large majority of the families in India are often situated in one joint structure, as older extended relatives are often cared for by their offspring in their homes. Despite the mother playing a pivotal role for the raising of her children, it is often regarded as a shared experience with friends, extended family and those in the neighbourhood (Tuli, 2012).

Studies involving Asian-Indian parenting is minimal, as a large range of Indian research includes American-Indian families. Additionally, majority of the Asian-Indian parenting studies are based on those who have emigrated from India to a Western culture, such as the United States (Londhe, 2015; McCord & Raval, 2016). Similar to Chinese immigrant parents, it has been found that when Asian-Indian parents have resided in a Western country for a longer period of time, they are more likely to use child-rearing practices that are similar to those used by Western-born parents (Farver, Xu, Bhadha, Narang, & Lieber, 2007). For instance, Farver et al. (2007) found that Asian-Indian parents who had a higher acculturation score in regards to their ethnic identity, were more likely to endorse authoritative parenting practices than those who were only marginally acculturated. However, Jambunathan (2006) found that Indian parents of preschool aged children who lived in the United States were more likely to place pressure on their children to do well academically, and emphasize the importance of a professional degree (e.g. law school or medical degree). This practice certainly exists within India, due to over population and limited colleges

granting these degrees (Jambunathan, 2006). However, it is interesting that this mentality still exists among Indian parents who have immigrated to Western cultures. This contrasts to previous research, which discusses the notion that these cultural patterns should have changed and more closely match those of the host culture, through the process of acculturation.

Farver et al. (2007) examined Asian-Indian adolescent's ethnic identity and associations with self-esteem levels. For this study, ethnic identity is described as one's ability to feel comfortable about who they are and have resolved any uncertainties about the meaning of their ethnic identity (Farver et al., 2007). It was found that adolescents who were more comfortable with their ethnic identity has higher self-esteem scores. It is possible that this grounded sense of ethnic belonging came from time spent listening and learning about certain traditions, history and customs from family members and friends belonging to the same culture. Similarly, Inman, Howard, Beaumont, and Walker (2007) found that Indian immigrants residing in the United States were able to affirm their ethnic identity through reinventing their original culture within the host culture. However, immigration seemed to come at a cost to some of the participants, as they often felt as though they had experienced some significant losses, such as cultural continuity, familial guidance and support systems (Inman et al., 2007). These two studies show that there are certain costs that come with immigrating to a foreign country, as learning to feel content with a reinvented cultural identity has a significant part to play in one's own well-being.

Theoretical Models

The following section will discuss some of the key theoretical models that may help explain the possible associations between culture, parenting practices and children's behaviour.

Social Learning Theory. Bandura's Social Learning Theory is one of the most influential theories of personality and learning development (Jaffe, 1991). It is described as the new patterns of behaviour that can be learned through direct experience or through the observation of others behaviours (Bandura, 1977). Social Learning Theory embodies the idea that people are not born with troubled and negative behaviours, rather, they learn them. The everyday interactions that occur among family members are shaping both children's and parent's long-term patterns of behaviours (Holtrop, McNeil Smith, & Scott, 2015). Therefore, parenting behaviours have a strong, powerful effect on children's outcomes and mediate the impact of the differing contextual factors on children's adjustment. In particular, this means that when parenting practices are more adverse and negative, children's behaviour may be more antisocial. In comparison, when parenting practices are warm and sensitive, positive child behaviour outcomes are promoted. Learning through direct experience is considered the more rudimentary form of learning, where children's behaviours are formed from consequences of either rewards or punishment following that action. Children will begin to form beliefs about their behaviours, depending on whether their efforts were unsuccessful and punished, or more favourable and rewarded. It is commonly believed that the responses are automatically and unconsciously processed by the immediate consequences experienced (Bandura, 1977; Jaffe, 1991). On this foundation of informative feedback, hypotheses are developed about the types of behaviours that are most likely to succeed, which then guide future actions. However, behaviour that is learnt through reinforcement cannot solely explain the way people's behaviours are shaped. As described by Bandura (1977), learning would be risky and laborious due to the potential for people to perform hazardous errors, with dangerous consequences. Therefore, behaviours can also be taught through modelling and observations. Modelling is the behaviour learnt through the influence of example. Whilst some behaviours or tasks may be costly or hazardous, new methods of response can be

developed by experienced and capable role models who demonstrate how the required behaviour or task is performed. Parents and teachers will do this when they say to a child “watch me do it, and then you try”, as this allows children to quickly understand and process the behaviour, as well the potential consequences of their actions before they perform the behaviour themselves (Jaffe, 1991). Furthermore, as described by Henderson (1981) the behaviours which are considered prosocial, which may be learned, observed and reinforced by parental figures, will vary from culture to culture and will be different based on differing historical contexts.

Ecological Perspective Theory. Bronfenbrenner’s Ecological Perspectives Theory can be used to further understand the characteristics that shape parenting behaviour (Rubin & Chung, 2006). Although parent-child relationships are at the heart of the microsystem, the relationships between parent and child also encompass much more than just two entities. For instance, the macrosystem includes the important factor of culture, which influences how parents care for their children, what behaviours are deemed acceptable with children, and to what extent parents allow children to experience autonomy (Rubin & Chung, 2006). The different everyday settings that parents and children find themselves in embody the important cultural meanings and parameters of their lived experiences. Furthermore, the cultural constructions that define child-rearing and child care practices are reinforced daily, which allow children to learn and embody cultural norms (Rubin & Chung, 2006). Rubin and Chung (2006) discuss the ecological framework of the “developmental niche”, which comprises of three subsystems. The first subsystem includes the different cultural variations of the social and physical settings within the child’s life. For instance, children who are raised amongst a multitude of individuals, living in temporary homes are drastically different to those children who are raised isolated at home with a single parent, with little interest shown

from other family members or individuals in the child's life. The second subsystem refers to the customs and practices of child-rearing. Cultural differences influence parenting factors such as the frequency and extent to which parents care for their child, permit freedom for children to explore or whether children's life experiences are more care-free or restricted. Lastly, the third subscale includes the cultural customaries of parenting, such as the sleeping arrangements (co-sleeping or sleeping separately) and breastfeeding. Therefore, the role of cultural influence in shaping parenting practices need to be considered when trying to understand different aspects of parent-child relationships.

Ethnic Equivalence Model. The Ethnic Equivalence Model emphasize the similarities that can be found across ethnicity in regards to the effects and influences of parenting styles and practices (Bowie et al., 2013; Lamborn & Felbab, 2003). According to this model, family structure and influence largely surpasses ethnicity. For instance, parental warmth, social autonomy and behavioural control positively influence childhood and adolescent development regardless of ethnicity. This encompasses the child's need for structure, connection and support, and whilst cultural influences are acknowledged, common patterns of parenting are considered more important (Lamborn & Felbab, 2003). This type of model disassociates itself from other models of parenting, which emphasize differences among cultures, such as the Cultural Values Model.

Cultural Values Model. In comparison to the Ethnic Equivalence Model, the Cultural Values Model emphasizes the differences among culture in regards to parenting behaviours and practices. According to the Cultural Values Model, what constitutes as positive successful parenting among one ethnic group may differ from those parenting behaviours that lead to children's optimal functioning in another ethnic group (Bowie et al.,

2013). This may be due to the parenting behaviours being interpreted differently in varying cultural contexts and characteristics, such as interdependence, family obligations and family functioning, that are unique to each culture (Lamborn & Felbab, 2003). According to some researchers, the Ethnic Equivalence Model is not adequate for exploring parenting behaviours across cultures because it does not consider the relevance and significance of cultural variation. Lamborn and Felbab (2003) stress the importance of using methods which allow family members (i.e. parents) to discuss and define meaningful aspects of parenting and family functioning in order to further understand parenting behaviours across cultures.

The Ecocultural Framework. An ongoing theme in cross-cultural psychology is that differences in culture may be understood as adaptations to varying ecological settings or contexts (Saraswati, 2003). This view is largely different from earlier beliefs that culture is consistent, and moves away from a “one size fits all” orientation to culture. More recently, it has been emphasized that culture is constantly changing, and there is more concern surrounding metamorphosis, creation and recreation (Saraswati, 2003). Therefore, The Ecocultural Framework, developed by John W. Berry, attempts to make sense of the commonalities and variations that exist among cultures by accounting for human psychological diversity and the differences and similarities that exist among individuals and groups. The Ecocultural Framework takes into account two fundamental sources which influence individual and group psychosocial characteristics; ecological and socio-political (Georgas, van de Vijver, & Berry, 2004; Saraswati, 2003). The ecological influence highlights individual’s development of customary and individual behaviour, which is adapted from their experiences in their cultural, ecological and social settings, such as one’s community bonds (Saraswati, 2003). The socio-political influence is an element that suggests individuals’ and the overall populations behaviour is due to organisations and institutions of

society, such as the economic system, government policies or educational system (Georgas et al., 2004; Saraswati, 2003). Therefore, it views culture as an evolving process to ecological and socio-political influences, and individual's characteristics as adaptive to their cultural context.

Rationale

In the present day, Aotearoa New Zealand's bicultural identity is considered by many as an important aspect for the way in which New Zealander's live. Alongside New Zealand European and Māori, New Zealand is home to a number of other ethnicities, including the Asian population (referred to in the study as Chinese and Indian). These three cultural groups make up the three dominant cultures in Aotearoa New Zealand. A significant commonality among these cultural groups is their identity of being a parent, both mothers and fathers. However, despite previously identified variations in behaviour and norms among cultures, there is no known research which investigates the influence of culture on parenting practices and children's social competence among New Zealand European, Māori and Asian families living in Aotearoa New Zealand. It is currently unknown whether there are significant variations in the types of parenting practices used by New Zealand European, Māori and Asian parents living in Aotearoa New Zealand, or to what extent children's behaviours differ between these cultural groups. Therefore, the current research study aims to identify these influences, and explore the potential similarities and differences that exist among New Zealand European, Māori, Chinese and Indian parents in Aotearoa New Zealand. This study will use four overarching research questions and sub-questions to help understand the nuances of parenting practices, culture and children's social competence.

Research Questions

1. What types of parenting practices do mothers and fathers use and is this associated with their child social's competence?

- 1a) What are the types of parenting practices used by mothers and fathers?
- 1b) Are there any significant differences between mothers' and fathers' parenting practices?
- 1c) What are parent's perceptions of their child's social competence?
- 1d) Are there any significant differences between mothers' and fathers' reports of their child's social competence?
- 1e) Is there a relationship between parenting practices and child social competence?
- 1f) Is there a relationship between mothers' and fathers' reported parenting practices and child social competence?

2. Are there differences in the types of parenting practices used the three dominant cultural groups in Aotearoa New Zealand?

3. Do parent's perceptions of their child's social competence differ between the three dominant cultural groups in Aotearoa New Zealand?

4. How does culture impact parenting practices among the three dominant cultural groups in Aotearoa New Zealand?

Chapter Three: Methodology

Participants

The sample consisted of eight families (mother, father and a focus child) from three different cultural backgrounds in Aotearoa New Zealand. The ethnic grouping consisted of New Zealand European ($n=2$), Māori ($n=3$) and Asian (Chinese $n=1$, Indian $n=2$) families and were chosen for the purpose of this study because they are the three dominant cultures in Aotearoa New Zealand (New Zealand Statistics, 2014).

Recruitment

The participants were recruited through the use of a flyer, social media posts, friends and family's wider social circle and other relevant cultural associations. After consent was provided by appropriate personnel, the advertisement flyers (Appendix A) were placed at a number of different early childhood centres and other relevant work-places around Christchurch. The advertisement flyer was also posted on a Facebook page run by the University of Canterbury Student Association, as well as on a number of personal pages of friends. Families who were interested in participating were asked to email or phone the researcher.

After initial contact was made with the researcher, an information sheet (Appendix B) was sent to them in order to determine if they met the criteria and were eligible for participation. The eligibility criteria were (a) both mothers and fathers are required to participate; (b) identify as either New Zealand European, Māori or Asian (Chinese or Indian); (c) have a child between the ages of 3-5 and (d) the family must live in the Christchurch area. At the beginning of recruitment, it was required that mothers and fathers in the same family would have to identify themselves as belonging to the same cultural group. However, it became apparent that it was difficult to recruit both Māori mothers and Māori fathers within

the same family. Therefore, the criteria was opened up to include participants where at least one parent identified as Māori.

Participant's demographic information is listed in Table 1, including mother and fathers cultural group, their age, child's age and gender.

Table 1: *Demographic Information*

| Participants | Culture | Age | Child Age / Gender |
|-----------------------|-------------------|------------|---------------------------|
| Family One (Mother) | NZ European | 35 | 5 years 4 months |
| Family One (Father) | NZ European | 38 | Female |
| Family Two (Mother) | NZ European | 33 | 3 years 10 months |
| Family Two (Father) | NZ European | 37 | Female |
| Family Three (Mother) | Māori/NZ European | 42 | 6 years 9 months |
| Family Three (Father) | NZ European | 47 | Female |
| Family Four (Mother) | NZ European | 34 | 5 years 3 months |
| Family Four (Father) | Māori/NZ European | 47 | Female |
| Family Five (Mother) | NZ European | 37 | 4 years 6 months |
| Family Five (Father) | Māori/NZ European | 40 | Female |
| Family Six (Mother) | Indian | 32 | 5 years 7 months |
| Family Six (Father) | Indian | 32 | Female |
| Family Seven (Mother) | Indian | 36 | 4 years 5 months |
| Family Seven (Father) | Indian | 39 | Female |
| Family Eight (Mother) | Chinese | 39 | 4 years 1 month |
| Family Eight (Father) | Chinese | 38 | Male |

Table 2 includes a family profiles for each of the family's. This includes details about where they were born, when they moved to Christchurch and how many children they have.

Table 2: *Family Profiles*

| | |
|--------------|---|
| Family One | The mother was born in Invercargill, New Zealand and moved to Christchurch a couple of years ago. The father was born in Southport, just north of Liverpool and has lived in Aotearoa New Zealand for 12 years. The family have one daughter, aged five, and they are expecting another child. |
| Family Two | The mother and father were born and raised in Christchurch, New Zealand but travelled overseas for a five years and returned back to Christchurch five years ago. They have three young girls. |
| Family Three | Both the mother and father were born and raised in Christchurch, New Zealand. They have two girls together, aged two and six. They revealed that both of their children have Fragile X syndrome, and their six-year-old has been diagnosed with ADHD. |
| Family Four | The mother and father were both born and raised in Christchurch, New Zealand. The father identifies as Māori/New Zealand European, and is in the early stages of exploring his cultural identity, as it was something that he did not grow up. This involves working for Ngāi Tahu and exploring his whānau history. This family has two children, a girl and a boy, aged five and two. |
| Family Five | The mother from family five was born and raised in Christchurch, New Zealand. The father was born in Invercargill, but has lived in Christchurch for 17-18 years. They have three girls, aged 11, 10 and four. |
| Family Six | The mother and father are from India. The mother is from the north side of India, and it was unspecified which part of India the father is from. They moved to New Zealand, and settled in Christchurch three years ago. They have one daughter, who was born in Chandigarh, India. |
| Family Seven | The mother and father are from India. They moved to Aotearoa New Zealand 12 years ago, and have resided in Christchurch ever since. They have two daughters, aged four and two. |
| Family Eight | The mother is from Kungdong, China. She moved to Kaikoura, New Zealand 12 years ago, and then moved to Christchurch, New Zealand two years later. The father is from China, and moved here 8 years ago to start a restaurant business. They met in New Zealand, and started a family. They have three children, two girls and a boy. |

Ethics

Ethics approval (HEC 2018/52) for carrying out the study was granted by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee (Appendix C). All participants were provided with an information form which gave details surrounding confidentiality and any potential risks that may be involved during participation. Participants were required to provide informed consent before participating in the study (Appendix D). Participants were also provided with the opportunity to ask any questions before the data collection began. One of the main concerns expressed by the Human Ethics Committee included the definition of Asian, and how this cultural group will be identified in order to limit the potential for cultural offense. The research team readdressed the definition of Asian, and decided to include the top two demographic Asian populations in Aotearoa New Zealand (Chinese and Indian) in order to recognise their differentiating cultural bases.

Setting for Data Collection

During the initial contact with the participants, it was stated that a suitable room at the University of Canterbury on Dovedale Campus was available for use. However, whilst this room was used for two meetings, it was often easier for the participants to meet at their place of work or in their own home. The space for conducting the interview was required to be quiet and free of any interruptions. The interviews and questionnaires were completed separately by both parents. While one parent was completing the questionnaires, the other parent was being interviewed.

Measures

Measures in the current study included two questionnaires regarding parenting practices and their children's social behaviour. An interview was also conducted to further understand parenting practices and the influence of culture.

Parenting Practices Questionnaire (PPQ). Mothers and fathers were asked to complete a revised version of the Parent Practices Questionnaire (PPQ) (Robinson, Mandleco, Olsen, & Hart, 1995). The original Parenting Practices Questionnaire consists of 62 questions, which are presented on a 5-point Likert Scale (1 = Never and 5 = Always). The questionnaire aims to assess parents in regards to the three parenting typologies; authoritarian, authoritative and permissive. The authoritative typology includes four subscales; (a) warmth and involvement; (b) reasoning and induction; (c) democratic participation; (d) good natured/easy going. There were a total of 27 authoritative items, which had a Cronbach alpha score of .91. The authoritarian typology includes four subscales; (a) verbal hostility; (b) corporal punishment; (c) non-reasoning/punitive strategies; (d) directiveness. There were a total of 20 authoritarian items, which had a Cronbach alpha score of .86. Lastly, the permissive typology included three subscales; (a) lack of follow through, (b) ignoring misbehaviour; (c) self-confidence. There were a total of 15 permissive items, with a Cronbach alpha score of .75. This measure has also been validated to be used with parents who have children from the ages of 3-5 (Locke & Prinz, 2002).

The questionnaire was revised by the researcher and the research supervisors. The revised questionnaire consisted of 22 items, which were presented on the same 5-point Likert Scale (1 = Never and 5 = Always) (Appendix E). The questionnaire was revised for a number of reasons. Firstly, it was important that the questionnaire presented positively and was less intrusive for the parents. It was not necessary to focus on the negative aspects of parenting

styles, as this would not provide a positive contribution to the results of the study. Therefore, corporal punishment, which was one of the subscales for the authoritarian parenting style, was left out. Secondly, the original 62-item questionnaire was considered too extensive and time consuming for the participants to complete. Therefore, the top three highest factor loading items from each subscale were included in the questionnaire. This reduced the survey to a more manageable time-frame of approximately 15 minutes. A draft of the final questionnaire was piloted by two child and family psychology Masters Thesis students, who were able to give suggestions about the questionnaires items, as well as the structure of the questionnaire. The final questionnaire was revised by the senior supervisor, as well as the secondary supervisor who helped oversee the cultural appropriateness of the measure.

The authoritative subscale on the revised questionnaire included 12 items, with a Cronbach alpha score of .89. Secondly, the authoritarian subscale included 6 items, and had a Cronbach alpha score of .51. This low reliability score may be due to the low number of items in the subscale. Additionally, it was noted that the removal of one item (I manage my child's behaviour by taking away privileges with little explanation) would increase this score to .73. However, further analysis indicated that the removal of this item would not change the results, so the item was kept in the scale. Lastly, the permissive scale included 4 items, and had a Cronbach alpha score of .46. Similar to the authoritarian subscale, the low number of the items may explain the low reliability of this subscale. It is also possible that these reliability scores are a reflection of the suitability of the subscales for the population of parents recruited for the purpose of this study.

Mothers and fathers completed the questionnaire separately from each other in order to minimize biases that may have arisen from comparing and contrasting practices. Additionally, the completion of separate questionnaires allowed for potential differences between mothers' and fathers' parenting practices to be compared. The comparison of both

mothers and fathers is considered an important original contribute of the study, as studies do not often have a selection criterion where fathers are required to participate.

Social Competence Scale – Parent (P-COMP). Following the Parenting Practices Questionnaire, the participants were then asked to complete the Social Competence Questionnaire – Parent Version (Conduct Problems Prevention Research Group, 1995) (Appendix F). The Social Competence Scale – Parent Version consists of 12 items, rated on a 5-point Likert Scale (1 = Not at all and 5 = Very well). The questionnaire consists of two subscales; (a) prosocial/communication skills (e.g. “my child shares things with others”) and (b) emotional regulation skills (e.g. “my child can accept things not going his/her way”). The original study demonstrated good internal reliability with a Cronbach alpha of .80 for both the prosocial/communication skills subscale and emotional regulation skills subscale (Conduct Problems Prevention Research Group, 1995). Parent’s total scores were calculated for each of the subscales and then divided by the number of items on each subscale to determine the mean. A score was calculated for mothers and fathers separately.

This measure was originally designed to assess the social competencies of children in elementary school, Grade 1 (Year 2). However, Gouley, Brotman, Huang, and Shrout (2008) evaluated the efficacy of the Social Competence Scale – Parent Version on preschool aged children (3 to 5 years of age). The results supported the use of the P-COMP on preschool aged children, after evaluating the factor structure and internal consistency of the measure. Gouley et al. (2008) state that this measure is useful for identifying emotional regulation skills and prosocial/communication skills in children between the ages 3 and 5, as they are two important skills that are emerging during this developmental period. The questionnaire was recommended for use by the secondary supervisor, who agreed that a more positive and

strengths based approach was would be more culturally appropriate for parents who are reflecting on their child's behaviours.

Interview. Mothers and fathers were asked to participate in a semi-structured interview consisting of eight open-ended questions regarding their culture and parenting practices. The interview questions are listed below in Table 3 and in Appendix G. Mothers and fathers were asked to complete the interview separately from one another, in order to minimize the risk of biases and maximize the likelihood of identifying differences in parenting practices between mothers and fathers. The interview was included in the research study to allow for a more in-depth exploration of the cultural influences on parenting, as well as the intergenerational parenting affects that may be present. The interview questions were initially drafted based on a previous empirical evidence published on topics which were seen as relevant to the current study. For instance, previous differences were found between New Zealand European and Māori parents for their children's sleep routines and was considered worth further investigation to determine the influence of these cultural practices. Additionally, previous research had highlighted the importance of family, and seeking support and advice from family members, thus it was regarded as necessary to include questions about advice giving and role models. Alongside the questions generated from previous research topics, more general questions were drafted in order to clearly establish key aspects of parenting, such as values and the influence of cultural identity. Once eight questions were drafted, advice was sought from both the senior supervisor and secondary supervisor, where recommendations for removal and additional questions were added (e.g. "tell me about yourself") and used in the final interview. Once the questions were finalised, the secondary supervisor helped oversee the cultural competency of the interview questions.

Table 3: *Interview Questions*

| Questions |
|---|
| 1. Tell me about yourself |
| 2. What culture/cultural group(s) do you identify with? |
| 3. How would you describe your parenting style? |
| 4. Who was your main model for your parenting? |
| 5. In relation to your child(ren), what are the sleep routines in your household? |
| 6. How do you think your cultural identify has influenced the way that you parent? |
| 7. What are some of the key values that guide your parenting? |
| 8. What advice would you give to your child(ren) about raising and parenting your grandchildren (mokopuna)? |

Design

This study uses a cross-sectional, mixed-method, within-between groups design. A within-between groups design was selected for comparing the similarities and differences within one culture, as well as between the three different cultures. A within-between groups design has previously shown to be insightful for discovering unusual trends both within cultures and between cultures (Lansford et al., 2018). The use of a mixed-method design was used to showcase the importance of gathering both quantitative and qualitative data. Whilst exploring and analysing more numerical forms of data, it was just as important to obtain rich descriptive data from the perspective of the parents through the use of interviews (Frost, 2011). This was especially important because quantitative data only focuses on one point in time, and parent and culture are considered to be an evolving process. Therefore, quantitative measures only allow parents to focus on their interpretations and feelings about parenting and their child's behaviour on the day of assessment. However, the inclusion of qualitative

measures allows for a more holistic approach to gathering information, where parents are free to discuss their views about parenting from the past, present and future. Additionally, qualitative measures allow the researcher to understand one's individual perspective of culture and parenting, allowing for a more in-depth understanding and clear conclusions to be drawn from the data. Additionally, the triangulation of both measures helps to determine whether the quantitative data backs up the qualitative data, or whether the two measures align. This is beneficial for determining the accuracy of the data.

Procedure

After parents provided consent to participate in the study, an appropriate time and place to complete the questionnaires and interviews was arranged. Parents were given the option to complete the measures at the University of Canterbury. In most cases, the measures were completed at the family's home or workplace. At the beginning of the meeting, parents were asked to sit down together so the researcher could explain the research process, confidentiality agreements and possibilities of risk. The researcher explained to the parents that they would be participating in two short questionnaires and an interview separately. Following on, the researcher then described to the parents how to complete the questionnaires. The researcher asked the parent's permission to record the interviews on a recording device, and assured them that their interviews would not be shared with anyone outside the research team. All participants agreed to have their interviews recorded. Parents were also told that their names would not be used in the publication of the results. Rather, it was specified that their family would be assigned a number in order to remain anonymous. Parents were then told that if the researcher believed they or anyone else in their family was at risk, the senior supervisor would be advised, who had the right to take things further. This

was also an ethical requirement recommended by the University Ethics Committee. After agreeing to these conditions, parents were asked to sign a consent form.

After the signing of consent forms, mothers and fathers were asked who would like to interview first. The first interviewee stayed in the room with the researcher and the other parent went out of the room to fill out the questionnaires. When the interview was finished, the parents swapped roles. If one parent did not understand English and could not participate in the interview alone, the other parent was allowed to assist with the interview and translate questions and answers where necessary. There was only one family where this procedure took place. After both interviews and questionnaires were complete, the recordings were saved and uploaded to a password protected computer file and questionnaires were filed away in a locked office until data analysis.

Data Analysis

As this study is a mixed-method study, both quantitative and qualitative analyses will be used for the purpose of triangulation to determine the influence of culture on parenting practices and children's social behaviour.

Quantitative data. The data from the Parenting Practices Questionnaire and the Social Competence Scale – Parent was inputted into SPSS in order for statistical analyses and associations to be identified between independent and dependent variables. The independent and dependent variable descriptions are described in Table 4.

Table 4: *Independent and Dependent Variables*

| Independent Variables | Dependant Variables |
|--|---|
| Culture (<i>New Zealand European, Māori, Chinese and Indian</i>) | Parenting Practices (<i>Authoritative, Authoritarian and Permissive</i>) |
| Parent's Age (<i>Mean = 37.7 years</i>) | Children's Social Competence (<i>Emotional Regulation and Prosocial/Communication Skills</i>) |
| Child's Age (<i>Mean = 4.9 years</i>) | |
| Parent (<i>Mother/Father</i>) | |

Descriptive statistics present the similarities and differences between mothers and fathers, as well as between each cultural group in regards to their parenting practices and their child's social competence. Following the descriptive statistics, independent *t* tests were run to determine whether mean differences were statistically significant. Pearson correlations were used to give an indication of the strength of the relationship between the two continuous variables, parenting practices and children's behaviour. Additionally, parenting practices and children's behaviour were examined by each cultural group, in order to determine potential similarities and differences between these variables. The statistical analyses used to answer each of the research questions are described in Table 5.

Table 5: *Statistical Analysis Plan*

| Research Questions | Data Analysis |
|--|--|
| 1a) What are the types of parenting practices used by mothers and fathers? | Cluster bar graph |
| 1b) Are there any significant differences between mothers' and fathers' parenting practices? | Descriptive statistics and independent <i>t</i> tests grouped by mother and father |
| 1c) What are parent's perceptions of their child's social competence? | Cluster bar graph |
| 1d) Are there any significant differences between mothers' and fathers' reports of their child's social competence? | Descriptive statistics and independent <i>t</i> tests grouped by mother and father |
| 1e) Is there a relationship between parenting practices and children's social competence? | Pearson correlation |
| 1f) Is there a relationship between mothers' and fathers' reported parenting practices and children's social competence? | Pearson correlation |
| 2. Are there differences in the types of parenting practices used the three dominant cultural groups in Aotearoa New Zealand? | Descriptive statistics grouped by culture |
| 3. Do parent's perceptions of their child's social competence differ between the three dominant cultural groups in Aotearoa New Zealand? | Descriptive statistics grouped by culture |

Qualitative data. Both mothers and fathers participated in 30-minute (approximately) interview separately. The interview questions can be found in Table 3.

The interview data was analysed through thematic content analysis (Guest, MacQueen, & Namey, 2012). The parents' responses were transcribed, where they were read and re-read in order to become familiar with the data. Following on, the transcripts were coded and labelled by using different coloured highlighters to code phrases (e.g. yellow = cultural practices, orange = parenting practices and green = significant quotes). These coded phrases were then compared and contrasted to other parents of the same and different cultural group. This allowed for the discovery of patterns, where key themes could be established. More specifically, cultural patterns were compared to themes from previous literature on the topic. However, new themes and broader patterns were discovered during the analysing process. The themes and patterns were reviewed to ensure that they fit with the data and the purpose of the research study. The cultural themes from each interview were compared to those from the same cultural group and other cultural groups in order to create concise and

accurate interpretations. The themes that were reaffirming themes in the previous research, as well as themes that were most commonly reoccurring, remained for the final coding of transcripts. The detection of themes allowed for a coherent and detailed narrative, which included direct quotes from the interviewee's.

Table 6: *Data Analysis Plan*

| Research Question | Data Analysis |
|--|---------------------------|
| 4. How does culture impact parenting practices among the three dominant cultural groups in Aotearoa New Zealand? | Thematic Content Analysis |

Chapter Four: Results

The following chapter will describe the results from the Parenting Practices Questionnaire and the Social Competence Scale – Parent Form. Descriptive statistics be used to examine the similarities and differences between mothers’ and fathers’ interpretations of their parenting practices and their child’s social competence. Comparisons between parenting practices and children’s social competence will be explored among the four dominant cultural groups in Aotearoa New Zealand (New Zealand European, Māori, Chinese and Indian). Pearson correlations will identify the strength of relationships, such as parenting practices and children’s social competence variables. Additionally, independent sample *t*-tests will determine whether mean differences between mothers and fathers were statistically significant. Following the quantitative results, the qualitative results will be described with a particular focus on exploring the individual perspectives of mothers and fathers, similarities and differences of the key themes, and their relation to parenting practices for each cultural group. The research questions for the quantitative data and qualitative data are listed in Table 7.

Table 7: *Research Questions for Quantitative and Qualitative Data*

Quantitative Research Questions

1. What types of parenting practices do mothers and fathers use and is this associated with their child social's competence?

- 1a) What are the types of parenting practices used by mothers and fathers?
 - 1b) Are there any significant differences between mothers' and fathers' parenting practices?
 - 1c) What are parent's perceptions of their child's social competence?
 - 1d) Are there any significant differences between mothers' and fathers' reports of their child's social competence?
 - 1e) Is there a relationship between parenting practices and child social competence?
 - 1f) Is there a relationship between mothers' and fathers' reported parenting practices and child social competence?
-

2. Are there differences in the types of parenting practices used the three dominant cultural groups in Aotearoa New Zealand?

3. Do parents' perceptions of children's social competence differ among the three dominant cultural groups in Aotearoa New Zealand?

Qualitative Research Question

4. How does culture impact parenting practices among the three dominant cultures in Aotearoa New Zealand?

Demographic Information

There were eight families that participated in this study. This included eight mothers ($Mage = 36$ years, $SD = 3.29$) and eight fathers ($Mage = 39.75$ years, $SD = 5.06$). Whilst there were no children participating in the study, parents were asked to report on their child's social competence. Across the eight families, children ranged in age from 3 to 6 ($Mage = 4.9$ years; $SD = 11.58$). In regards to the cultural variance among the sample, seven parents identified as New Zealand European, three parents identified as Māori, four parents identified

as Indian, and two parents identified as Chinese. A profile listing important demographic information for each family can be found in the Methods Chapter in Table 2.

Quantitative Results

Research Question One

1. What types of parenting practices do mothers and fathers use and is this associated with their child social's competence?

1a) What are the types of parenting practices used by mothers and fathers? As shown in Figure 1, mothers and fathers reported using parenting practices that align with an authoritative parenting style most often. These parenting practices include allowing their child to have input into family rules, and praising their child when they are good, as their most commonly used parenting style. Mothers reported the use of an authoritarian parenting style slightly more than fathers, including arguing with their child and telling their child what to do. Lastly, a permissive parenting style was reported to be used by mothers and fathers at a similar rate with practices including allowing their child to annoy and interrupt others. In comparison to the other two parenting styles, a permissive parenting style was shown to be the least commonly used by both mothers and fathers. The range, means and standard deviations for each parenting style grouped by mothers and fathers are provided in Table 8.

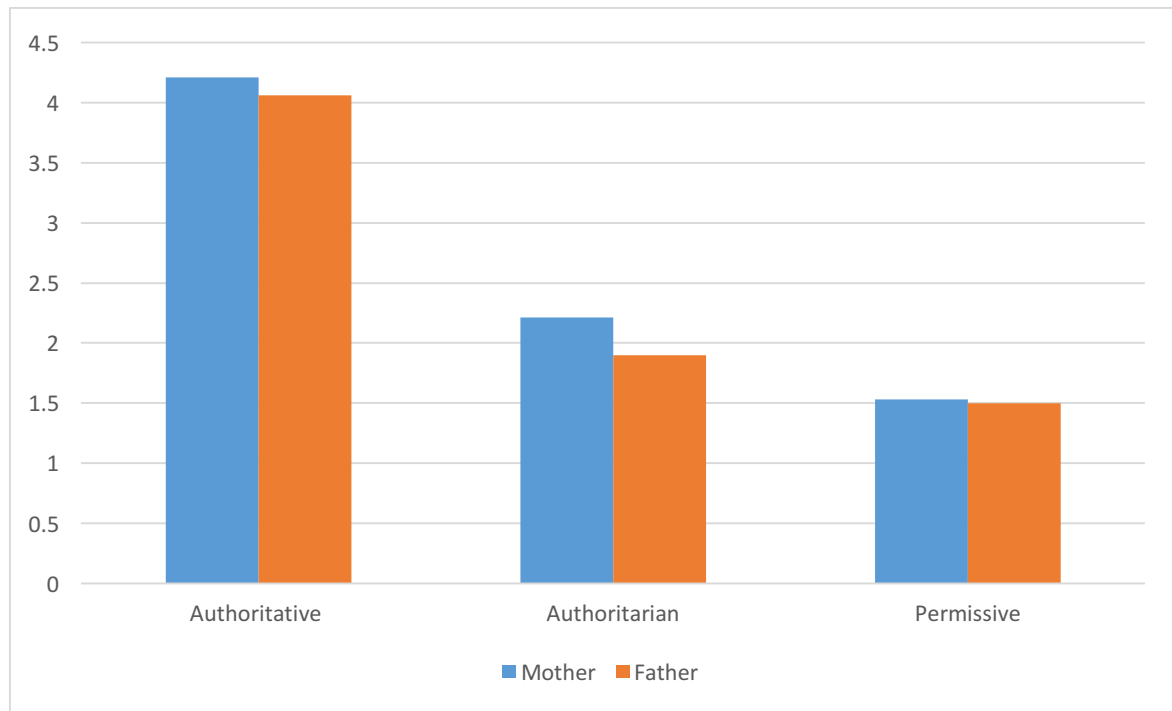


Figure 1: *Types of Parenting Styles used by Mothers and Fathers*

1b) Are there any significant differences between mothers’ and fathers’ parenting practices? It was important to identify whether there were any differences between mothers’ and fathers’ parenting styles, in order to determine whether there is consistency between parenting styles. Table 8 presents mothers’ and fathers’ responses on each subscale of the Parenting Practices Questionnaire. These scores will be analysed according to parenting styles. For the purpose of this analysis, all four ethnic groups will be examined collectively in order to get an overall picture of the main parenting practices used by mothers and fathers.

Table 8: *Descriptive Statistics for Parenting Type and Parenting Practices*

| <i>Parent Type</i> | <i>Parenting Style</i> | <i>Range</i> | <i>Mean</i> | <i>Std. Dev</i> |
|--------------------|------------------------|--------------|-------------|-----------------|
| Mother | Authoritative | 3.33 – 4.75 | 4.21 | 0.48 |
| | Authoritarian | 1.70 – 3.50 | 2.21 | 0.54 |
| | Permissive | 1.25 – 2.25 | 1.53 | 0.36 |
| Father | Authoritative | 2.75 – 5.00 | 4.06 | 0.87 |
| | Authoritarian | 1.50 – 2.83 | 1.90 | 0.53 |
| | Permissive | 1.00 – 2.25 | 1.50 | 0.46 |

Authoritative parenting style. Mothers' and fathers' mean scores for the authoritative subscale did not differ significantly ($t(14) = 0.418, p = 0.68$). Both mothers ($M = 4.21; SD = 0.49$) and fathers ($M = 4.06; SD = 0.87$) had a similar mean score in regards to their authoritative parenting practices. This indicates that both mothers and fathers often use parenting practices that include being easy going and relaxed with their child, and praising their child when they have been good.

Authoritarian parenting style. Mothers' mean scores ($M = 2.21; SD = 0.54$) were slightly higher than fathers' ($M = 1.90; SD = 0.53$) for the authoritarian subscale, however, this difference was not significant ($t(14) = 1.13, p = 0.28$). This difference shows that once in a while, mothers use authoritarian parenting practices, such as arguing with their child or telling their child what to do. In comparison, fathers indicated that they never used these types of parenting practices.

Permissive parenting style. Mothers' and fathers' mean scores on the permissive subscale were not statistically significant ($t(14) = 0.15, p = 0.88$). On average, mothers ($M = 1.53; SD = 0.36$) and fathers ($M = 1.50; SD = 0.43$) indicated that they never used parenting practices such as appearing unsure on how to solve their child's misbehaviours. Both mothers

and fathers indicated that the permissive parenting style subscale was their least attributable parenting style, as their mean scores were the lowest compared to the other two scales.

1c) What are parents' perceptions of their child's social competence? As shown in Figure 2, fathers reported that their child used emotional regulation skills more often in comparison to mothers' reports. This implies that fathers believe their child display skills such as coping well with failure and thinking before acting. However, mothers and fathers had similar reports for their child's prosocial skills/communication skills, including skills such as their children being helpful towards others and listening to other's points of view. The range, mean and standard deviations of mothers' and fathers' scores of children's social competence can be found in Table 9.

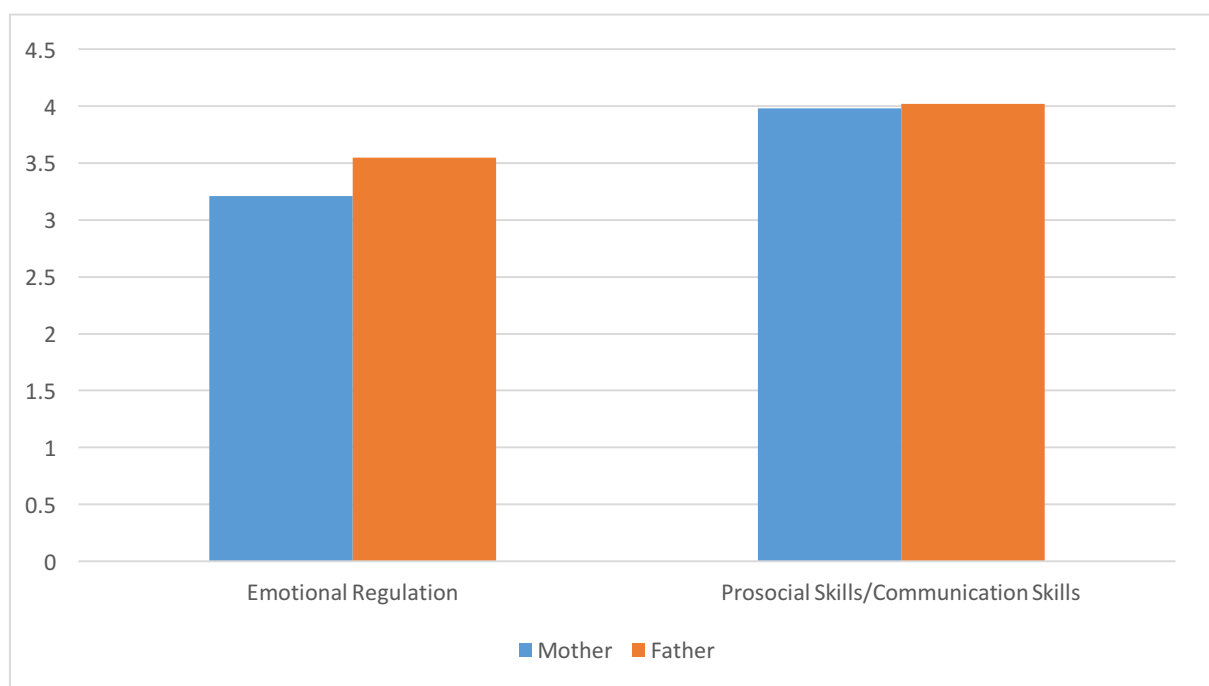


Figure 2: *Mothers' and Fathers' Perceptions of their Child's Social Competence*

1d) Are there any significant differences between mothers' and fathers' interpretation of their child's social competence? It is important to identity the possible differences that may occur between mothers and fathers in regards to the way that they

interpret and report their child's social competence. Table 9 presents mothers' and fathers' responses on the two subscales of the Social Competence Scale – Parent Form. Additionally, in order to examine whether meaningful differences exist between mothers' and fathers' reports of child's social competence, independent sample *t*-test on each dependent variable were conducted.

Table 9: *Descriptive Statistics for Parenting Type and Children's Social Competence*

| <i>Parent Type</i> | <i>Subscale for Child Social Competence</i> | <i>Range</i> | <i>Mean</i> | <i>Std. Dev</i> |
|--------------------|---|--------------|-------------|-----------------|
| Mother | Emotional Regulation | 2.30 – 4.50 | 3.21 | 0.79 |
| | Prosocial / Communication Skills | 2.80 – 5.00 | 3.98 | 0.64 |
| Father | Emotional Regulation | 2.30 – 4.50 | 3.55 | 0.70 |
| | Prosocial / Communication Skills | 2.30 – 5.00 | 4.02 | 1.01 |

Emotional regulation. As shown in Table 9, mothers ($M = 3.21$; $SD = 0.79$) and fathers ($M = 3.55$; $SD = 0.71$) mean scores were more similar than different ($t(14) = -.089$, $p = 0.38$). This suggests that there is consistency in mothers' and fathers' reports of their child's emotional regulation, with both parents reporting that their child thinks before acting and can calm down when excited moderately well.

Prosocial skills/communication skills. Mothers' ($M = 3.98$; $SD = 0.64$) and fathers' ($M = 4.02$; $SD = 1.01$) mean scores for their reports of their child's prosocial skills/communication were not statistically significant ($t(14) = -0.09$, $p = 0.93$). Despite these differences being non-significant, fathers' mean scores were slightly higher than mothers' (moving the mean score of the fathers up to the next scale point), indicating that fathers believed their child could perform prosocial skills/communication skills well, such as sharing

things with others and being helpful towards others, whilst mothers believed they could perform these skills moderately well.

1e) Is there a relationship between parenting practices and their children's social competence? Pearson correlations describing the strength of the relationship between reports of parents' parenting style and child's social competence are presented in Table 10. All of the parents' reports were examined collectively.

Table 10: *Correlation of Parenting Style and Children's Social Competence*

| <i>Parenting Style/Child Social Competence Subscales</i> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|--|---|-------|---------|--------|--------|
| 1. Authoritative | 1 | -.219 | -.661** | .483 | .665** |
| 2. Authoritarian | | 1 | .459 | -.374 | -.410 |
| 3. Permissive | | | 1 | -.509* | -.414 |
| 4. Emotional Regulation | | | | 1 | .775** |
| 5. Prosocial/Communication Skills | | | | | 1 |

***. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2 tailed)*

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2 tailed)*

Relationship between parenting styles. As shown in Table 10, a significant negative correlation was found between parents reported authoritative parenting style and authoritarian parenting style ($r = -.661$; $p = .005$). This indicates that when mothers and fathers reported the use of an authoritative parenting style, including practices such as joking and playing with their child, they were less likely to report the use of a permissive parenting style, including practices such as allowing their child to annoy others. In comparison, a positive trend between authoritarian parenting style and permissive parenting styles was found, whereby authoritarian parenting behaviours may be associated with permissive parenting behaviours ($r = .459$; $p = .073$; see Table 10). Therefore, when mothers and fathers reported the use of an

authoritarian parenting style, such as arguing with their child, they were also likely to report the use of a permissive parenting style, such as allowing their child to interrupt others. This association approached significance in this study, however, with a larger sample, statistical significant may be found.

Relationship between children's social competence. Associations between parent reports of their child's social competence on each of the subscales were also examined and a significant relationship was found between reported emotional regulation and prosocial skills/communication skills ($r = .775$; $p = <0.01$; see Table 10). More specifically, when parents reported their child to be more emotionally regulated, they were also more likely to report that their child uses prosocial skills and communication skills.

Relationship between parenting styles and children's social competence. As shown in Table 10, an authoritative parenting style is positively correlated with young children's use prosocial skills/communication skills ($r = .665$; $p = .005$). More specifically, parents who report themselves to be more authoritative were more likely to report that their children used positive prosocial skills/communication skills. Parents who reported practices such as giving praise to their child when they are good, and showing patience with their children were more likely to report their children using positive skills such as sharing things with others or listening to others points of view. Secondly, there was a significant negative correlation between the use of a permissive parenting style and the reported use of emotional regulation among their children ($r = -.509$; $p = .044$; see Table 10). Parents who report their children as exhibiting emotionally regulated behaviours, such as coping well with failure and thinking before acting, were less likely to report the use of permissive parenting styles, such as allowing their children to annoy or interrupt others.

1f) Is there a relationship between mothers' and fathers' reported parenting practices and their child's social competence? Pearson correlations describing the strength of the relationship between mothers' and fathers' reports of their parenting style and child's social competence are presented in Table 11. Mothers and fathers from the four different ethnic groups were examined collectively.

Table 11: *Correlation of Mothers' and Fathers' Reported Parenting Style and Child Social Competence*

| <i>Parent Type</i> | <i>Parenting Style / Child Social Competence Subscales</i> | <i>1</i> | <i>2</i> | <i>3</i> | <i>4</i> | <i>5</i> |
|--------------------|--|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| Mother | 1. Authoritative | 1 | -.158 | -.321 | .318 | .578 |
| | 2. Authoritarian | | 1 | .730* | -.249 | -.140 |
| | 3. Permissive | | | 1 | -.139 | .010 |
| | 4. Emotional Regulation | | | | 1 | .901** |
| | 5. Social/Communication Skills | | | | | 1 |
| Father | 1. Authoritative | 1 | -.342 | -.836** | .704 | .707* |
| | 2. Authoritarian | | 1 | .265 | -.421 | -.621 |
| | 3. Permissive | | | 1 | -.857* | -.627 |
| | 4. Emotional Regulation | | | | 1 | .765 |
| | 5. Social/Communication Skills | | | | | 1 |

***. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2 tailed)*

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2 tailed)*

Mothers. A significant positive correlation was found between authoritarian parenting style and permissive parenting style ($r = .730$; $p = 0.04$; see Table 11). This relationship suggests that mothers who reported the use of an authoritarian parenting style are also likely to report the use of a permissive parenting style. Additionally, children's prosocial/communication skills reported by mothers had a significant positive correlation

with children's emotional regulation skills ($r = .901$; $p = .002$; see Table 11). This suggests that mothers who report their child to display prosocial skills/communication skills, such as listening to others' points of view, are also likely to report greater use of emotional regulation skills, such as their child thinking before acting.

Fathers. As shown in Table 11, a significant negative correlation was found between authoritative parenting style and permissive parenting style ($r = -.836$; $p = .010$). This suggests that unlike mothers, fathers who report an authoritative parenting style are less likely to report the use of a permissive parenting style. A second significant positive relationship was found between an authoritative parenting style and prosocial skills/communication skills ($r = .707$; $p = .050$; see Table 11). This indicates that fathers who report the use of an authoritative parenting style, such as showing patience with their child, are more likely to report that their children display positive prosocial skills/communication skills, such as their child sharing things with others'. Lastly, a significant negative correlation was found for fathers' reported emotional regulation and use of a permissive parenting style ($r = -.857$; $p = .007$; see Table 11), which suggests that when fathers are reporting positive emotional regulation skills for their child, such as their child thinking before acting, they are also less likely to report the use of a permissive parenting style, such as allowing their child to annoy others.

Research Question Two

2. Are there differences in the types of parenting practices used the three dominant cultural groups in Aotearoa New Zealand? Table 12 presents the ranges, means and standard deviations of parenting styles for mothers and fathers collectively grouped according to cultural groups.

Table 12: *Descriptive Statistics for Cultural Group and Parenting Style*

| <i>Culture</i> | <i>Subscale for Parenting Style</i> | <i>Range</i> | <i>Mean</i> | <i>Std. Dev</i> |
|----------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------|-------------|-----------------|
| New Zealand European | Authoritative | 3.25 – 4.60 | 3.90 | 0.48 |
| | Authoritarian | 1.50 – 3.50 | 2.22 | 0.72 |
| | Permissive | 1.25 – 2.25 | 1.78 | 0.37 |
| Māori | Authoritative | 2.75 – 4.50 | 3.53 | 0.89 |
| | Authoritarian | 1.50 – 2.00 | 1.78 | 0.25 |
| | Permissive | 1.25 – 2.00 | 1.58 | 0.38 |
| Chinese | Authoritative | 4.16 – 4.75 | 4.45 | 0.42 |
| | Authoritarian | 2.00 – 2.66 | 2.33 | 0.47 |
| | Permissive | 1.00 – 1.25 | 1.12 | 0.18 |
| Indian | Authoritative | 4.66 – 5.00 | 4.85 | 0.17 |
| | Authoritarian | 1.60 – 2.10 | 1.82 | 0.26 |
| | Permissive | 1.00 – 1.25 | 1.19 | 0.13 |

Authoritative parenting style. As shown in Table 12, Indian parents ($M = 4.85$; $SD = 0.17$) and Chinese parents ($M = 4.45$; $SD = 0.42$) had higher mean scores than New Zealand European parents ($M = 3.90$; $SD = 0.49$) and Māori parents ($M = 3.53$; $SD = 0.89$) for the authoritative parenting style subscale. This indicates that Chinese and Indian parents used parenting practices such as explaining the consequences of their child's behaviour, joking and playing with their child very often. In comparison, New Zealand European and Māori parents indicated that they used these parenting practices about half of the time.

Authoritarian parenting style. As shown in Table 12, New Zealand European parents ($M = 2.22$; $SD = 0.72$) and Chinese parents ($M = 2.33$; $SD = 0.47$) had higher mean scores for the authoritarian parenting style subscale, suggesting that they use parenting practices, such as managing their child's behaviour by putting their child somewhere alone with little explanation and raising their voice when their child misbehaves once in a while. In comparison, Indian parents ($M = 1.82$; $SD = 0.26$) and Māori parents ($M = 1.78$; $SD = 0.25$) displayed lower mean scores, suggesting that they never used these parenting practices.

Permissive parenting style. As shown in Table 12, New Zealand European parents ($M = 1.78$; $SD = 0.37$) and Māori parents ($M = 1.58$; $SD = 0.38$) had slightly higher mean scores than Chinese parents ($M = 1.12$; $SD = 0.18$) and Indian parents ($M = 1.19$; $SD = 0.13$), suggesting they allow their child to annoy or interrupt others more often. Although these are only small differences in mean scores on the permissive parenting style subscale (e.g. New Zealand European and Indian), these scores all remained within the same scale point. This indicates that parents from all four cultures never used permissive parenting practices, such as allowing their child to annoy or interrupt others.

Research Question Three

3. Do parents' perceptions of children's social behaviours differ among the three dominant cultural groups in Aotearoa New Zealand? Table 13 presents the means, ranges and standard deviations of mothers' and fathers' reports of their child's social competence grouped according to culture.

Table 13: *Descriptive Statistics for Culture and Children's Social Competence*

| <i>Culture</i> | <i>Subscale for Child Social Competence</i> | <i>Range</i> | <i>Mean</i> | <i>Std. Dev</i> |
|----------------------|---|--------------|-------------|-----------------|
| New Zealand European | Emotional Regulation | 2.30 – 4.00 | 3.24 | 0.68 |
| | Prosocial / Communication Skills | 2.30 – 4.80 | 3.76 | 0.91 |
| Māori | Emotional Regulation | 2.30 – 3.50 | 2.98 | 0.62 |
| | Prosocial / Communication Skills | 2.80 – 4.83 | 3.94 | 1.04 |
| Chinese | Emotional Regulation | 3.00 – 3.83 | 3.41 | 0.59 |
| | Prosocial / Communication Skills | 3.66 – 3.83 | 3.74 | 0.12 |
| Indian | Emotional Regulation | 2.50 – 4.50 | 3.90 | 0.95 |
| | Prosocial / Communication Skills | 3.80 – 5.00 | 4.60 | 0.57 |

Emotional regulation. As shown in Table 13, Indian parents ($M = 3.90$; $SD = 0.95$), Chinese parents ($M = 3.41$; $SD = 0.59$) and New Zealand European parents ($M = 3.24$; $SD = 0.68$) all had comparable mean scores to one another, indicating that these parents believe their child performs moderately well in regards to their emotional regulation. Māori parents ($M = 2.98$; $SD = 0.62$) had lower mean scores compared to the other cultural groups, indicating that their child uses emotional regulation skills, such as controlling their temper when there is a disagreement, less often.

Prosocial/communication skills. As shown in Table 13, Māori parents ($M = 3.94$; $SD = 1.04$), New Zealand European parents ($M = 3.76$; $SD = 0.91$) and Chinese parents ($M = 3.74$; $SD = 0.12$) had comparable mean scores for their ratings of their child's prosocial/communication skills, suggesting parents from these cultural groups believe their child uses prosocial skills/communication skills moderately well. Indian parents ($M = 4.60$;

$SD = 0.57$), however, had a much higher mean score compared to the other cultural groups, as they believed their child uses these skills well. These findings indicate that Indian parents were more likely to report higher levels of skills for their child, such as sharing items with others and being helpful to others. Despite similarities in mean scores, the standard deviation scores differed between all four groups, particularly in regards to Māori parents ($SD = 1.04$) and Chinese parents ($SD = 0.12$). These scores suggest that Māori parents' ratings were more wide spread, whereas Chinese parents' ratings were more consistent with the overall mean score.

Qualitative Results

The following section will analyse the qualitative data, which included semi-structured interviews with 16 mothers and fathers from the three dominant cultural groups in Aotearoa New Zealand; New Zealand European, Māori and Asian (Chinese and Indian). The interview data was examined and key themes relating to parenting practices were identified for each cultural group. Additionally, similarities and differences between and across cultural groups were also examined. These have been displayed in Figure 1.

Research Question Four

4. How does culture impact parenting practices among the three dominant cultural groups in Aotearoa New Zealand?

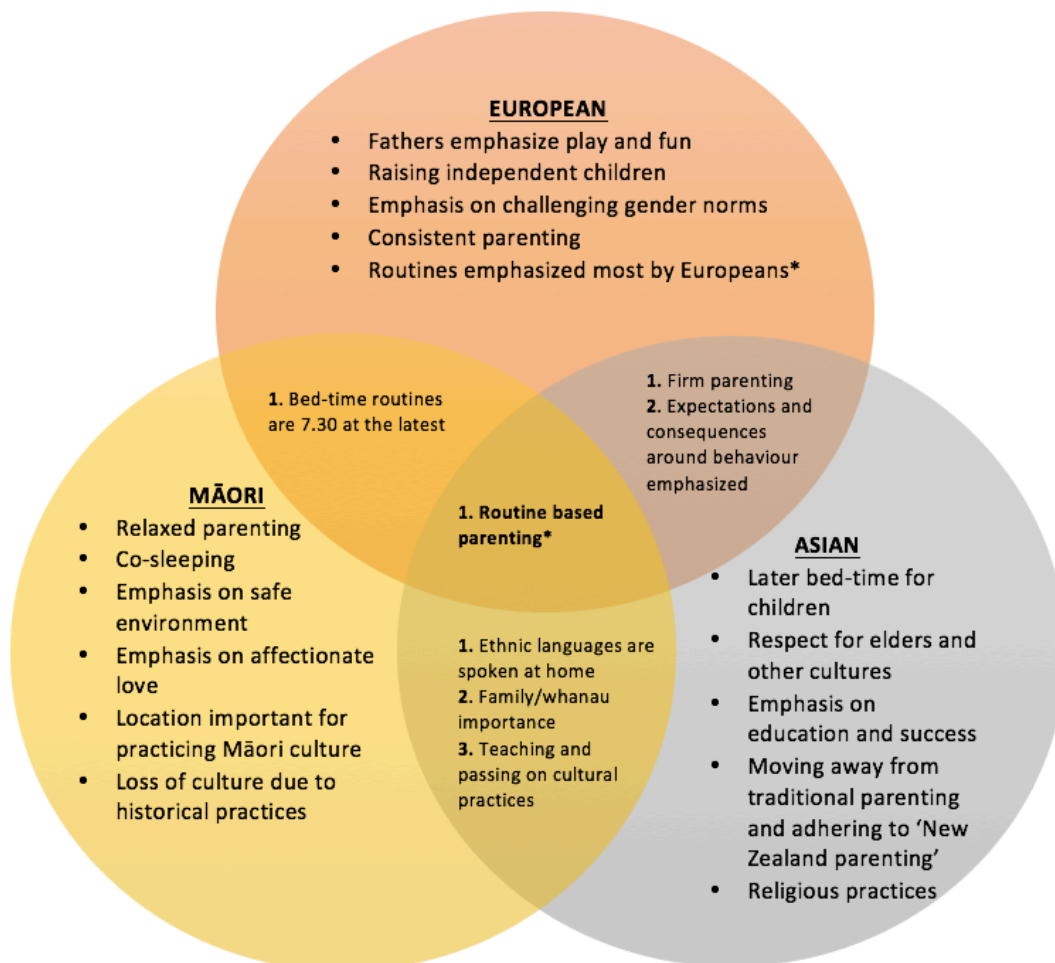


Figure 3: *Similarities and Differences of Parenting Practices Across Cultures*

Universal Theme

As shown in Figure 3, there was one universal parenting practice which was considered important by all parents, across all cultural groups. Routine-based parenting was described by all parents as crucial for maintaining cohesion and consistency for their family's well-being.

“Ah I'd say routine is key. That's why we are strict with bed times and we have our routines down packed and that helps them be a bit more comfortable whilst growing and developing” (Family 5, Father, Māori/New Zealand European).

“... she has the same pattern, because we believe that is what will keep them healthy” (Family 7, Mother, Indian).

“We have Saturday for family, so we always close on the shop on the Saturday... Family time is so important... We always go on a day trip with the children on Saturdays” (Family 8, Mother, Chinese).

Likewise, parents believed that having a structure around their child's dinner time and bed-time routines was important to maintain, for their children and for themselves as parents.

“She goes to bed at the same time every night and now sleeps through the whole night and gets up at a similar time in the morning... her routines are fairly strict” (Family 1, Mother, New Zealand European).

“We make sure the wind down into night is always always always the same... They are really good at going to sleep and I really wanted that to be a thing because I didn't want to spend hours in there and didn't have the patience for that” (Family 2, Mother, New Zealand European).

“They are normally in bed by 7:30pm, and fast asleep no later than 8pm. Typically up in the morning at 6.45am to 7am. We try to keep a pretty consistent routine, as [husband] and I love our sleep... we like to have that time at night” (Family 3, Mother, New Zealand European/Māori).

Across all of the parents, there was a general consensus that whilst it was important for their child to stick to the routines, there is often flexibility around certain times of the year, such as holidays or family events.

“... she is in bed by 7.30, and that’s, well I’d like to say non-negotiable but circumstances sometimes dictate if that means they go to bed a bit later. Most recent case of that was the holidays I suppose, so I let the girls sleep a bit later knowing that we didn’t have to get up the next morning” (Family 5, Father, Māori/New Zealand European).

“It’s normally the same every night, unless there are friends around and occasions like birthdays (Family 7, Mother, Indian).

However, when parents were asked ‘how do you think your cultural identity has influenced the way that you parent?’ some New Zealand European parents emphasised the use of routines, and even considered it to be culturally engrained.

“Probably being quite routine based... I think that’s somewhat of a cultural thing” (Family 2, Mother, New Zealand European).

“... I was brought up that you went to bed at a certain time, and pretty much do the same thing with our kids” (Family 3, Father, New Zealand European).

Similarities Across Cultures

New Zealand European and Asian. As shown in Figure 3, New Zealand European parents and Asian parents had two overlapping parenting practices that were similar. The first parenting practice shared by New Zealand European and Asian families was firming parenting. For instance, it was often expressed that parenting is a process of teaching and learning, and whilst there is some flexibility to be had, remaining firm with their children was regarded as essential for successful development.

“You actually have to be strict to let them know that it’s not acceptable, we need to give a bit of pressure on the children otherwise they won’t grow” (Family 8, Mother, Chinese).

“I think we are fairly strict with her, we don’t let her get away with too much bad behaviour and we try to be consistent with our parenting so that we don’t have to deal with too many problems” (Family 1, Mother, New Zealand European).

“I can be stricter with food... Sometimes I have to strict on her having healthy meals because she likes chips and stuff. So that’s the situation where I am a real strict mother and she has to eat her vegetables” (Family 6, Mother, Indian).

The second parenting practice shared by New Zealand European and Asian families was expectations and consequences for behaviour.

“... there are expectations that we have for behaviour and things. We don’t let bad behaviour go uncommented if you know what I mean” (Family 2, Father, New Zealand European).

“Sometimes you need to be strict with your child if you want to make them learn about the rules and how to deal with things” (Family 6, Mother, Indian).

“... we have to tell the children what is right and what is wrong, and if they don’t do it right, you have to actually be more strict to let them know it’s not acceptable” (Family 8, Mother, Chinese).

Māori and Asian. Figure 3 shows that Māori and Asian families had three similar parenting practices. The first parenting practice shared by Māori and Asian parents was their effort to speak either their native language (language native to their cultural group) to varying degrees. More specifically, Asian parents were likely to emphasise the importance of speaking exclusively in their native language in their home, whilst Māori parents were more likely to incorporate some Māori kupu (words) and phrases.

“We speak Cantonese at home, and now my mum and dad are here, it’s really helpful for my children to learn Cantonese and talk more because if you don’t practice, you don’t really learn it (Family 8, Mother, Chinese).

“She [wife] will only speak to them in Hindi, not to force anything, but just because the interactions at school all day are English... We make sure the girls are bilingual in terms of understanding the language otherwise at some point they might stop relating to the culture” (Family 7, Father, Indian).

“I am trying to use te reo Māori in the household and bring them along that journey” (Family 4, Father, New Zealand European/Māori).

Second, nearly all Māori and Asian parents expressed the importance of maintaining close relations with members of the immediate and wider family/whānau, not only in regards to their children's upbringing, but also for maintaining a sense of family support.

"... whanaungatanga, a sense of family being the primary unit, we have a fairly open family where no topic is to taboo and that's helped foster a good, open relationship with our oldest girls, those are the main values" (Family 5, Father, Māori/New Zealand European).

"Our culture is quite diverse and quite focused on family... you have to be in a family, you don't need to go and sit alone and do your YouTube things, it's family and everything you do is family" (Family 6, Mother, Indian).

"It's important to understand where you come from, because I think it's healthy to see yourself as something bigger than just you lost in the world... If I had felt like I was a part of a bigger whānau, then I might have found some situations less challenging" (Family 4, Father, Māori/New Zealand European).

However, whilst wider family relationships were conveyed as being important among Asian parents, it was often challenging for them to feel satisfied with their familial relationships, as family members were situated in their home country.

"And in my family, my father and my mother, and I have one older sister. She and everybody else is in India... we usually do talk to our parents, friends and things over skype" (Family 6, Father, India).

Last, there were efforts made among Māori and Asian parents to teach and pass on a variety of cultural practices to their children. Whilst cultural practice includes the efforts made to speak their native language in the home setting, parents also referred to other important cultural aspects, such as religious education and cultural experiences.

“I encourage the girls to get into any Māori extra-curricular activities... We are actually off to the marae in Moeraki this weekend, so they are familiar with that environment. Just try to expose them to as much cultural as I can” (Family 5, Father, Māori/New Zealand European).

“My daughter prays, she prays to our Hindu, and knows who our God, Hindu God. ... It’s really very important for me because God is one” (Family 6, Mother, Indian).

“She knows that she spends 4-5 minutes with [wife] and bows her head to the God and says thank-you” (Family 7, Father, Indian).

New Zealand European and Māori. As displayed in Figure 3, New Zealand European parents and Māori parents shared similar views about bed-time routines and the time in which their child was put to bed at night. Majority of the families agreed that on a regular evening (not including events such as holidays and family celebrations) children were to be in bed by 7.30pm. This was considerably different to Chinese and Indian families who indicated that their child’s bed time was between 8pm and 9pm.

“So she goes to bed at the same time every night... 7.30 at the latest and she goes straight to sleep” (Family 1, Mother, New Zealand European).

“Twenty-five to seven is shower, then by about 7 o’clock it’s story time... normally asleep by 7.30 at night” (Family 1, Father, New Zealand European).

“Generally, as she is 4 and a half, she is in bed by 7.30... 7.30 almost religiously” (Family 5, Father, Māori/New Zealand European).

Differences Between Cultures

Whilst cultural similarities exist in parenting practices, there were also a number of differences that were identified (see Figure 3). These differences may represent some of the unique diversities between the three dominant cultures in New Zealand.

New Zealand European. Firstly, it was found that New Zealand European fathers emphasised the importance of having fun with their children by setting some time aside to play together, or taking a more relaxed approach to their parenting. Play time was described as an important aspect of the fathers parenting, and this time allowed them to bond and share some fun-focused memories. As well as the father’s emphasizing fun, mothers were likely to say that their partner was more relaxed about their parenting practices than themselves.

“Yeah always going out and playing. I try not to take things too seriously, I like to focus on fun, and don’t get too stressed about it” (Family 1, Father, New Zealand European).

“We try to be relaxed, have fun and have a laugh and he is particularly good at that. I feel like his role is a lot about having fun with the kids and I seem to be doing a lot of the providing like food and things” (Family 2, Mother, New Zealand European).

An important aspect of New Zealand European mothers and fathers parenting was to raise an independent, hard-working, strong willed child who would grow to have the capabilities to manage themselves, and not relying on their parents. This finding is not to say that other cultures do not want to raise independent children, however, this aspect of parenting was specifically discussed by New Zealand European mothers and fathers.

“We’d just like her to be a hard-worker and get stuck in and not expect everyone else to do everything for her. The current generation gets blamed for wanting everything put on a plate for them, so need to make sure she knows how to work hard as well” (Family 1, Mother, New Zealand European).

“Giving the girls that security to be strong individuals and never guide them too much... so they can make great choices” (Family 2, Mother, New Zealand European).

Additionally, it was found that New Zealand European parents believed that their advice around the raising of their grandchildren was not a necessary component of their family dynamic. Instead, it was preferred that their own children found their way independently.

“My mother has been really good at not doing that, and just letting us find our own way and that is a really good thing. If they ask for advice sure, but we’d probably just let them do it their way because I’m not sure if it’s a grandparents place to say” Family 2, Father, New Zealand European).

“I’ve actually thought about this because I don’t want to be that dominant parent that tries to enforce my ways on them... I’d wait for them to come to me about any questions they might have about their children” (Family 2, Mother, New Zealand European).

Interestingly, alongside the notion of raising an independent child, New Zealand European mothers and fathers emphasized the importance of abandoning gender stereotypes of their child. This was described in a number of ways, such as allowing their child to play with any toy, chose their favourite colour and aspire to work in any industry.

“We try not to introduce gender stereotypes into our parenting. There is nothing that is just for girls or just for boys. She can do anything, and is not limited by her gender”
(Family 1, Mother, New Zealand European).

“We have never tried to guide them much into what they should be playing with as girls, and we try to give them that freedom of choice” (Family 2, Mother, New Zealand European).

Māori. As shown in Figure 3, Māori parents took a relaxed approach to parenting and were less likely to describe their parenting practices as strict or firm. This is evidenced in the following quote from a New Zealand European/Māori father.

“We are not all about strictness and discipline, we are about caring and creativity and fair amount of chaos” (Family 4, Father, Māori/New Zealand European).

Additionally, all of the Māori parents had partners who identified as New Zealand European. This meant that relaxed parenting was often identified when comparing parenting practices to the other primary parent, and this finding was consistent for both mothers and fathers. Both Māori mothers and fathers were more likely than their partners to emphasize a relaxed parenting style, suggesting this may be a distinctive parenting practice among Māori parents.

“I absolutely love them and they know that, and probably not as strict as I could be. There is probably a good balance because [father] is a lot more strict than I am” (Family 3, Mother, Māori/New Zealand European).

“I am a believer in children finding their own boundaries, so I’m pretty loose to an extent. But where I can see that they are going to cause themselves a lot of harm, I’ll intervene, otherwise I’m quite happy to let them explore their own boundaries” (Family 5, Father, Māori/New Zealand European).

Among the parents who identified as Māori, there was only one family who discussed co-sleeping with their children as a part of their bed-time routine. This was said to be an important part of their parenting, as it allowed their child to feel safe when they fell asleep.

“As an example, we co-slept with our kids, and some parents go through sleep training and all that, and we don’t do that” (Family 4, Father, Māori/New Zealand European).

“I probably co-slept with him a bit longer because having another kid made it a bit more complicated... When we got sick or his teeth came through, we went back to it because it was easier than having him awake half the night... Just giving them a safe association with sleep” (Family 4, Mother, New Zealand European, partner is Māori/New Zealand European).

Additionally, other parents who identified as Māori also discussed the importance of raising children to feel safe in their own environment, particularly in the home setting.

“... I guess it’s just about keeping them safe and making sure they feel loved and giving them opportunities and things” (Family 3, Mother, Māori/New Zealand European).

Similarly, Māori parents also discussed their parenting through the use of affectionate love with their children. This is not to say that other cultural groups disregard affectionate love with their children, it was just emphasized within this particular group of parents.

“I think I was raised in a time where parenting was about feeding your children, dressing them and sending them to school... providing basics for life, but not loving them as much or expressing that love and my approach is probably flipped up the other way” (Family 5, Father, Māori/New Zealand European).

“Dad and I had a different connection, so we always used to hug a lot when I was younger... So I guess I’m quite affectionate with my girls, and that’s probably something that’s come from dad” (Family 3, Mother, Māori/New Zealand European).

Additionally, Māori parents discussed the difficulty of participating in and accessing Māori based cultural activities and organisations in the area of Christchurch.

“When I was looking for pre-schools for her... a bilingual one... they had a prerequisite that there had to be total immersion, and whilst we do a certain amount ourselves with te reo in the home, the location was a bit far from where we were. I haven’t sort of ignored it, and I suppose it’s just hard to tap into some of those things in Christchurch” (Family 3, Mother, Māori/New Zealand European).

Similarly, one Māori father expressed his disappointment with the disconnect of cultural identity that takes place in his area of Christchurch.

“In Cashmere a lot of the older girl’s peers are predominately European Pakeha so it’s not cool to be Māori I suppose. They are not encouraged to wear their culture on their sleeve which is a shame” (Family 5, Father, Māori/New Zealand European).

Whilst all parents who identified as Māori discussed the implementation of a number of other cultural practices, such as the use of te reo Māori in the home setting or visiting their marae, some parents indicated that the discriminatory practices experienced by previous generations has limited their ability to know more about Māori culture. It is possible that these discriminatory practices may have impacted this generation of Māori parents as they may be limited in the types of practices that they can share and pass onto their child, as they are either re-learning cultural practices themselves or beginning to appreciate the world of Māori culture.

“He’s of an age where he grew up in a time where speaking te reo wasn’t encouraged or an accepted thing at school. So he’s quite shy and introverted, he wasn’t embracing that and didn’t pass a lot of it on when I grew up” (Family 3, Mother, Māori/New Zealand European).

Asian. There was one parenting practice that was similar for Indian and Chinese parents. As shown in Figure 3, Indian and Chinese parents discussed their bed-time routines for their children to typically take place between 8pm and 9pm. This was often attributed to a number of reasons, such as this time period being quite mainstream back in their home country, or the later bed-time allowed parents to spend more time with their children in the evenings before bed.

“...Being Indian, it’s a different sleeping patterns to here in New Zealand... So normally in India, you can say 8pm or 9pm is quite late sleeping but in New Zealand, 7pm is the normal bed time and you have to be in bed...So I try to maintain a sleeping routine for her and sometimes I fail and normally she is in bed by 8pm” (Family 6, Mother, Indian).

“We want her to go to bed before 9pm. We try to maintain that routine... So like 6pm-6.30pm we cook dinner and eat together. Around 8pm we are cooking, watching TV, talking with each other, asking ‘how was your day?’ and things and try to be on before 9pm (Family 6, Father, Indian).

“About 6pm to 6.30pm they would get ready for bed for about 8.30pm or 9pm” (Family 8, Mother, Chinese).

In the following section, parenting practices of Indian and Chinese families will be described and then compared to each other.

Indian. One aspect of Indian culture that was significantly emphasized among the parents was the practice of respect for others and self-respect. Whether the discussion revolved around family members, an elder, or a person from another culture, it was stressed that respect was of the upmost importance.

“If we met with anybody in our family, mothers, sisters and brothers, we would try to respect and don’t argue with our elders. Even if they are saying something wrong, we don’t argue” (Family 6, Father, Indian).

“It’s hard for girls to feel that importance in society so we need to tell them that they are very important and you have to have that self-respect and nobody can tell you otherwise”
(Family 7, Mother, Indian).

Among the two families, religious practices, such as praying and attending religious services, were discussed as important values to maintain and teach their children whilst living in Aotearoa New Zealand.

“So we are a strong believer in God and we preach our own God but we go to church and if there is a mosque we will go, if there is a temple, we will go...she [daughter] knows that she spends 4-5 minutes with [wife] and bows her head to the God and says thank-you”
(Family 7, Father, Indian).

“My daughter prays, she prays our Hindu, and knows who our God is...she knows that is really very important for me and that really matters to me because God is one”
(Family 6, Mother, Indian).

One of the Indian families held school and tertiary education in high regard. They emphasized their desire for their child to do well in school and move onto a really well recognised University degree. As described by the father of this family, schooling for the Indian culture is a priority.

“In India, schooling is a must. We try to put everybody in a very good school; that is the main thing if you want your child to be a doctor or a lawyer you know” *(Family 6, Father, Indian).*

“I want my child to be a lawyer... I want her to study and do very well. We want her to do on a top level and do the good job. Focus on study and focus on a very good degree. I want her to focus on life” (Family 6, Father, Indian).

Interestingly, there were some differences between the two Indian families. Whilst these differences are not unusual in such a small sample size, these differences may also be related to the time spent living in Aotearoa New Zealand. One family reported residing in Aotearoa New Zealand for approximately five years, whilst the other family has lived in Aotearoa New Zealand for over a decade. One of the main differences included their beliefs about the importance of sharing knowledge with their child about Indian culture. More specifically, both the mother and father in Family 6 emphasized that it was important for their child to understand Indian culture and way of life, however, this was not emphasised by Family 7.

Family 6:

“I want her to be able to explain Indian culture, and explain where her parents came from and she can participate in it... I want her to go every Sunday to temple, and we pray to God and she listens and she has to learn. Indian roots are from there, and we want her to know” (Father, Indian).

Family 7:

“We are not parents that hold onto [daughter] and say that we have to do this because we come from India. But we educate her... whether it’s religiously or about our gods... and if they want to go to church, I’ll be more than happy to go with them. It’s not something I’m going to enforce, they should know where our roots come from, that’s the only education I want to give them. Then it’s their life, they are individuals” (Mother, Indian).

Chinese. Chinese parents emphasized their intention to disengage from the strict Chinese culture that they experienced growing up in China. In particular, both the mother and father made a conscious effort to raise their children in a less strict environment in Aotearoa New Zealand. They attributed this to a typical New Zealand's parenting style, which was described as "very relaxed".

"We don't want to give very strict rules to the children. That's what we learnt from our culture... It's okay over there because everyone was the same over in China, but now our children live in a different environment, we want to change and we don't want to follow our parents" (Family 8, Mother, Chinese).

The importance of extended family was also discussed during the interview with Chinese parents. The mother emphasised her grandmother's presence during her childhood in China, and how she was a very significant part of her life growing up. After the interview was finished, the mother was curious to know more about the culture in Aotearoa New Zealand, particularly for New Zealand Europeans, in regards to the wider family and their involvement in a child's life. For instance, she joked about how in Aotearoa New Zealand, you almost need to make an appointment in order to see the grandparents. She expressed that she did not want to lose that part of Chinese culture, and it was important for her child to remain close to their grandparent's (who live in Aotearoa New Zealand), and prioritize the relationships with the extended family.

Moreover, it was expressed that the immediate family was a significant structure, and one that small and big sacrifices have to be made for. For instance, as work ethic was highly regarded, this meant that the father was away from the family for long periods of the day

during the week and weekend. However, it was just as important to make time for family, even if it meant sacrificing a day of income.

“We close the shop on Saturdays, and many people can’t understand why, because for business, Saturday would be very busy, and it’s true, you can make a lot of money on Saturdays. But I was proud of my husband because he made the decision to shut on Saturday because he realised that family time is so important. It’s for our family because the children do not see their father much” (Family 8, Mother, Chinese).

As demonstrated throughout this Chapter, the qualitative data complements the quantitative data, as they both highlight the potential similarities and differences in parenting practices and perceptions of children’s social competence for the three dominant cultural groups living in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Chapter Five: Discussion

This study aimed to understand the parenting practices and similarities and differences used by New Zealand European, Māori and Asian (Chinese and Indian) cultural groups living in Aotearoa New Zealand. The study also examined whether the differences and similarities among parent's reports of their child's social competence in relation to their cultural grouping. The cultural groups included in this study are reflective of the three dominant cultural groups in Aotearoa New Zealand. As previously noted, culture has a unique and significant impact on the types of parenting that families choose to use. Additionally, parenting practices are often considered a crucial factor in contributing to the different social competencies that children elicit. Given the lack of research in the field and lack of understanding about the parenting practices used by parents of the three dominant cultures in Aotearoa New Zealand, this study aimed to examine the associations between parenting practices and children's social competence and how these two dimensions may be influenced by culture. The first section of this discussion will describe key findings related to mothers' and fathers' parenting practices and whether they are associated with children's social competence. The second section will describe the key findings for the relationship between culture and parenting practices. The final section will focus on the role of culture in regards to children's social competence. These sections will discuss the key findings in relation to previous research, as well as highlight the unique contributions of this study. Additionally, strengths of the study, limitations, implications and future research will be discussed.

Mothers' and Fathers' Parenting Practices and Children's Social Competence

The first aim of the research study was to examine the similarities and differences between mothers' and fathers' parenting practices, and how this is associated with children's social competence. The first findings illustrated that mothers and fathers self-reported parenting

styles on the Parenting Practices Questionnaire were similar to each other for all three parenting styles (authoritative, authoritarian and permissive). These comparisons show that mothers' and fathers' scores were more similar than different, despite completing the questionnaire separately. This finding is consistent with a previous study by Rinaldi and Howe (2012), whereby mothers' and fathers' self-reports of parenting styles were positively correlated with each other on all three parenting styles, particularly for the authoritative subscale. However, they also found that, whilst still comparable, mothers and fathers scores on the authoritarian and permissive subscales differed slightly (Rinaldi & Howe, 2012). This was somewhat replicated in the current study, as mothers' scores on the authoritarian subscale were slightly higher than fathers', however, permissive scores remained the same. One explanation for mothers having a slightly higher authoritarian score than fathers may be due to fathers taking a more relaxed approach to parenting. This explanation is supported by the comments made by a number of fathers in the interview. This may result in mothers having to use practices such as arguing with their child or raising their voice in order to balance their parenting roles to communicate rules and expectations to their child.. Overall, mothers and fathers were more likely to report the use of an authoritative parenting style, and authoritarian and permissive were the two less favourable parenting styles.

Likewise, there was congruency between mothers and fathers and their reports about their child's social competence. Both mothers and fathers reported that their child displayed high levels of emotional regulation by using behaviours such as accepting things not going their way or calming themselves down when worked up. Similar congruency was found for mothers' and fathers' reports of their child's prosocial skills/communication skills, including their child's ability to share and take turns with others. Overall, both mothers and fathers reported that their child displayed high levels of positive emotional regulation and prosocial skills/communication skills. However, as these reports were parents' perceptions of their

child's social competence, the results are to be interpreted with caution. For instance, it is possible that parents responded about their child in a socially desirable manner, and wanted to perceive their child in a favourable light. Secondly, as parents are predominately observing their children in the home context, there may be less opportunities for their child to demonstrate a variety of emotional regulation skills and prosocial/communication skills. As previously shown by Lawson, Nissley-Tsiopinis, Nahmias, McConaughy, and Eiraldi (2017), parents were more likely to rate their children's attentive levels higher than the children's teachers, as inattentive behaviours may be more present in the classroom setting. Thus, future research may benefit from incorporating a teacher report, as the school context provide children with more opportunities for children to demonstrate emotional regulation skills and prosocial/communication skills.

This study found that fathers who used more parenting behaviours that were considered authoritative were more likely to rate their child as using more prosocial and communication skills. Interestingly, this relationship was not found for mothers who had an authoritative parenting style. This finding differs to that of Tavassolie et al. (2016), who found that, for mothers and fathers, authoritative parenting practices were more likely to lead to positive outcomes for their children in regards to their externalizing and internalizing behaviours. Additionally, warm and inductive parenting practices from both mothers and fathers has shown to lead to positive adaptive skills in children (Ruiz-Ortiz et al., 2017). In regards to the parents in the current study, it is possible that positive parenting practices displayed by fathers have a significant role to the play in the development of children's prosocial skills/communication skills. However, as this relationship was not found for mothers, it is possible that mothers in the study held higher expectations for their children's behaviours. Moreover, fathers in the interviews portrayed a more relaxed approach to parenting. This may suggest that fathers feel less obligated to put pressure on their children.

In contrast, mothers in the interviews held higher expectations for their children's behaviour, and may have had a stricter criteria for rating their child's prosocial/communication skills.

Overall, mothers and fathers scores for their reported parenting practices and their child's social competence were congruent with one another. As there are few studies that have compared mothers' and fathers' parenting practices and their reports of their child's social competence, these findings are considered an important contribution to the field as they provide information about some of the similarities and differences between the two parents. This is considered important in improving our understanding about how mothers' and fathers' interpret their child's social competence, as well why these potential differences and similarities may exist.

The Role of Culture on Parenting Practices

The second aim of the research study was to examine the role of culture on parenting practices and children's social competence among New Zealand European, Māori and Asian parents living in Aotearoa New Zealand. For the purpose of this discussion, four themes will be described to demonstrate the similarities and differences between cultures: routine-based parenting, parenting practices, cultural practices and cultural identity, and the importance of family/whānau.

Routine-based parenting. The findings of this study indicated that all three cultures had an overlapping common parenting practice. All parents indicated that the implementation of a routine based structure for their parenting was an essential part of their parenting practices (see Figure 3; page 63). Moreover, it was considered necessary by New Zealand European, Māori and Asian parents to maintain and continue a structured routine, particularly around their child's dinner time and bed-time, in order to make sure they, as parents, were less stressed, and their children understood what tasks were needed to be completed for a

smooth transition into the next part of the day/evening. This was considered an important finding, as no known previous research has identified similar common parenting practices across three different cultures. This finding is important to recognise, as it is not only an original contribution to the research internationally and in Aotearoa New Zealand, but it allows for an insight into the applicability of routine-based parenting practices, and suggests that no matter the cultural grouping, planned and consistent routines are an important parenting practice when raising children.

Despite all three cultures maintaining a routine-based structure around bed-times, this does not imply that the routines are the same for each culture. For instance, New Zealand European and Māori parents indicated that 7.30pm was the latest time in which their children were to be in bed. In comparison, Asian parents were more likely to state that their children's bed time was approximately 8pm to 9pm. Interestingly, these parents knew that this bed-time was later than other children from different cultures, and they believed a later bed-time may be influenced by the 'normal' time children were in bed in their home country. These typical bed-time hours were discussed by Mindell, Sadeh, Wiegand, How, and Goh (2010), who found that children living in China and India were more likely to have bed-times of approximately 10pm, whereas children residing in Aotearoa New Zealand were more likely to have bedtimes of approximately 7.30pm.

Although routines were considered important by all parents in the study, the role of culture still plays a part in the types of routines that are used by parents. This finding on bed-time routines is a reminder that, whilst routines are necessary for all parents, cultural norms have a significant impact on what is considered normal from culture to culture.

Parenting practices. As shown in Figure 3 (page 63), New Zealand European and Asian parents were more likely to allude to the use of a firmer parenting style in comparison

to Māori parents. Whilst New Zealand European and Asian parents did not explicitly express that they were actively pursuing a firm parenting style, they did express the importance of setting rules and boundaries for their children. However, despite these discussions of rules and boundaries, the Chinese family expressed their desire to parent their child in a style more comparable to New Zealand European parents, which they described as relaxed and easy-going, rather than the strict parenting style used by their parents in China. Cheah et al. (2013) also discussed the use of harsher disciplinary parenting practices in China and found that Chinese parents were able to make direct comparisons between Chinese parenting and American parenting. Although relaxed and easy-going was not attributable to New Zealand European or Chinese parents as found by the interview data, parent reports on the Parenting Practices Questionnaire found that Chinese parents were more authoritative than New Zealand European parents, despite previous research describing Chinese parents as predominately authoritarian (Lee et al., 2014). This finding is consistent with a previous finding by Yu et al. (2016), who found that Chinese parents who adopted an American orientation to their parenting were more likely to show traits of an authoritative parenting style. Therefore, these finding may be explained by the conscious effort that the Chinese family were making to move away from the strict parenting that they witnessed and grew up with in China to describing their practices as more authoritative, such as being easy going and relaxed with their child.

In regards to firmer parenting practices used by Indian parents, one Indian family emphasised their desire for their daughter to achieve high levels of academic success, particularly in regards to their daughter becoming a lawyer. This finding was replicated by Jambunathan (2006), who found that Indian parents often felt inclined to pressure their children to achieve highly in their academic work. This was said to be common in India, as competitive schooling is often based on high grade point averages (Jambunathan, 2006).

However, the Indian family in the study also emphasised that they would not be disappointed if their daughter chose otherwise. Interestingly, some of these findings did not align with parent's responses on the Parenting Practices Questionnaire. Whilst New Zealand European and Chinese parents reported a higher use of authoritarian parenting practices, Indian parents were much less likely to report the use of authoritarian parenting practices, despite their emphasis on rules and expectations for their children in the interviews. This may be because reporting on the Parenting Practices Questionnaire has the potential for these parents to project a more socially desirable parenting style, whereas discussions in the interviews were able to gather much more information on the average day to day practices of these parents and the important influence of culture on their parenting practices. Thus, it is important for future research to continue to include methodological approaches that allow for the triangulation of data.

In comparison to New Zealand European and Asian parents, Māori parents were more likely to describe their parenting as more relaxed and laid back, such as allowing their children to find their own boundaries and experimenting with a variety of rules to find the best fit for their child. As there is limited previous research on Māori parenting practices, it is harder to determine whether this parenting practice is more common among Māori, or a unique finding of the parents in the current study. In another finding, one Māori family discussed their desire to co-sleep with their child, as they believed it was what was best for their child, particularly when their child was sick and needed a parent close by. Similarly, Jones et al. (2017) found that as Māori parents did not want to wake in the night to attend to their child, they found co-sleeping to be more of a convenience factor.

It is important to recognise and appreciate the role that culture plays on the types of parenting practices that are used by parents from different cultures. In particular, parents who have migrated from their home country to Aotearoa New Zealand are likely to be adjusting to

new cultural norms and a new way of life. Therefore, parents may maintain parenting practices, such as the same bed time for their child, as their home country. This may be because these are routines that occur within the four walls of their home. It is possible that they feel safe continuing these routines as no one else is able to see these differences. Therefore, with other parenting practices, they may be less likely to engage in more typical practices of their home country that occur out in public for fear of being judged.

These findings demonstrate the considerable variations that exist between parents of different cultures, despite living in the same country. These comparisons between cultures are unique to the research internationally and in Aotearoa New Zealand, and provide a solid base for interpreting the role of culture and how certain aspects are able to be both maintained and adjusted by parents who stand by their cultural norms, or those who wish to challenge them.

Cultural practices and cultural identity. Both Māori and Chinese parents emphasized the important of teaching and passing on cultural practices to their child, such as the use of native language and religious practices. More specifically, Māori parents often discussed the use of te reo Māori in the household, as it was important that their child is able to recognise Māori kupu (words) and use the correct pronunciation. Additionally, some Māori parents believed that encouraging their child to participate in different cultural activities, such as various marae visits or kapa haka, were beneficial for learning and maintaining knowledge about Māori culture. However, some parents found it more difficult to tap into resources in their local area/region that would allow for Māori practices to be shared amongst their children. Additionally, one Māori family expressed their disappointment in the lack of pride shown for Māori culture in the area in which they reside. It was expressed that their child felt discouraged to wear her Māori culture “*on her sleeve*” by peers and teachers, and found it difficult to take pride in her cultural identity. This finding is important to recognise, as Māori children’s self-esteem about their cultural identity may be

affected by those individuals around them. This has the potential for less cultural practices to be passed on and later used by these children in the future. Despite these challenges, the inclusion of Māori culture in the household was typically at the forefront of parent's practices, and served as a great deal of importance for many parents. As there are no known studies that include the importance of maintaining cultural practices for Māori with their children, these findings are an important original contribution to the research and provide some rich and detailed insight into the types of practices that Māori parents find important to implement and pass onto their children. Additionally, these findings highlight some of the barriers that Māori face in maintaining their cultural identity and practices.

Chinese and Indian parents regarded the use of their native language (i.e. Cantonese or Hindi) with their child as an important practice. For most of these parents, they actively taught their children to be completely bilingual. Māori, Chinese and Indian parents emphasized the necessity for maintaining their native language as a way for their child to understand culture and increase their cultural awareness. Additionally, Chinese and Indian parents placed their cultural practices in high regard, as they wanted to ensure that their children were able to competently discuss their family's history and confidently participate in religious practices and ceremonies. However, there seemed to be an external factor which influenced the extent to which children were taught cultural practices. For instance, one of the Indian families were more likely to express their desire to maintain Indian culture, such as teaching Hindi to their child and attending religious ceremonies. In comparison, the other Indian family felt less inclined to actively teach Indian practices and traditions to their children, with the exception of religious practices. An explanation for the differences in these parenting practices within the same culture may relate to the length of the time the families had been living in Aotearoa New Zealand. One of the Indian families had only resided in Aotearoa New Zealand for approximately 5 years, whereas the other family had lived in

Aotearoa New Zealand for over 10 years. A previous study found that the time spent in a foreign country was an influencing factor for the types of behaviours that one exhibits, particularly with parenting practices (Farver et al., 2007). Therefore, the length of time residing in Aotearoa New Zealand may be a contributing factor to parent's inclination to emphasize the need for teaching and adhering to Indian culture.

These findings recognise how important it is for Māori, Chinese and Indian parents to teach, practice and adhere to cultural practices with their child, as the role of culture plays a significant part in the day to day practices that children experience. For instance, despite living in Aotearoa New Zealand for 5-10 years, Indian parents wanted their children to speak their native language and pray to their God every morning and evening. This demonstrates the significance of maintaining and upholding traditions in order to remain connected to their home country and culture. These findings provide an original contribution to the research on cultural practices among Chinese and Indian parents living in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Importance of family/whānau. Māori and Asian parents often expressed the importance of the wider family/whānau. Due to the Indian parents and Chinese parents being migrants to Aotearoa New Zealand, their wider families were typically living back in their home countries. Whilst they often expressed a feeling of disconnect to their families due to the lack of proximity, it was considered important to remain close to these family members, whether this was through visiting or regularly Skyping. Inman et al. (2007) found that this feeling of disconnect was a common occurrence for those who have migrated to a different country away from family. In particular, people considered their cultural continuity, familial guidance and support systems to be lost. However, despite living away from family, the parents in the current study expressed their love for Aotearoa New Zealand as a country, and did not discuss plans of permanently returning home. Additionally, Indian parents often discussed the importance of showing respect to elders in the family. More specifically,

respect was described as not questioning the intentions of an elder, regardless of if you think their actions are wrong. This belief is potentially unique to Indian culture, as there were no other explicit discussions made by other cultural groups about the importance of respecting elder's decisions. Similarly, Tuli (2012) found that respect for elders was a domain of practice in the Indian culture was considered non-negotiable.

Surprisingly, emphasis on the wider whānau was less prominent among Māori parents in comparison to Asian parents. Whilst there were some instances where parents alluded to the importance of whānau, such as seeing wider family members at family gatherings, it was far less emphasized in comparison to previous research. For instance, Abel et al. (2001) found that Māori parents were highly likely to emphasise the importance of their wider whānau for aspects such as advice, support and connection. However, Tipene-Leach et al. (2000) found that when Māori parents adhered to a more New Zealand European approach to parenting, they were less likely to emphasis the wider whānau for areas such as support and advice. Therefore, it should be noted that Māori parents in the present study identified as Māori/New Zealand European, and their significant others (i.e. partners) identified as New Zealand European. It is possible that this identification leads to different parenting practices, as previous research has primarily studied more traditional two-parent Māori families, or individuals who identify as exclusively Māori. Perhaps the influence of a New Zealand European partner, along with the challenges in maintaining Māori cultural practices and identity in the current location the family are living, means that these families are more likely to use parenting practices that are more widely accepted. In this case, New Zealand European practices.

In comparison to Māori and Asian parents, New Zealand European parents were less likely to emphasize the importance of the wider family. Likewise, Witten et al. (2009) found that New Zealand European parents did not tend to seek out support and guidance from wider

family members, as they preferred to seek support and guidance from professionals, such as doctors and nurses. In the current study, New Zealand European parents were less inclined to seek support, and often preferred their family members to limit the amount of advice given whilst raising their children. Although these parents expressed love and admiration for their family members, they often stated that they would prefer to raise their child independently as mother and father, and seek out support from family when they believed it may be necessary. New Zealand European's preference to raise their child independently of the advice of their wider family may have been an approach that their parents also took. Moreover, this finding corresponds with similar findings in this study, where New Zealand European parents expressed desire for their child to grow up independently and learn for themselves.

These findings demonstrate the role that culture plays on the importance of the wider family/whānau. In particular, they show that whilst previous research involving Māori emphasises the importance of the wider whānau, cultural practices can be influenced and adjusted according to the other cultures that they are connected to, such as the relationships between Māori and New Zealand European parents. More specifically, Kukutai (2007) found that traditional cultural practices among Māori can start to diminish when the parental identities are predominately New Zealand European (e.g. Māori/New Zealand European and New Zealand European), much like the identification of parents in the current study.

The current study provides a large contribution to the research in Aotearoa New Zealand regarding parenting practices. Whilst there have been a small number of previous research studies investigating the influence of culture on parenting practices in Aotearoa New Zealand (Abel et al., 2001; Tipene-Leach et al., 2000), these studies did not include the Asian population, despite their cultural dominance in Aotearoa New Zealand.

The Role of Culture on Children's Social Competence

The final aim of the study was to determine how the role of culture influences parents' reports of their child's social competence. Interestingly, New Zealand European, Chinese and Indian parents all had positive perceptions of their child's emotional regulation skills. However, although they were similar, Indian parents viewed their child's emotional regulation as slightly higher than the other cultural groups. The findings from Montemayor and Ranganathan (2012) may explain this result, as they found that Indian parents often attributed their children's positive behaviour to their own parenting in order to maintain positive feelings about themselves as parents. In comparison, Māori parents viewed their child's emotional regulation skills lower than the other cultural groups. However, this may have been influenced by one family reporting that their child has a diagnosis of attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD), which has the potential to lower the average score for this cultural group, as it has been shown that children with ADHD symptoms are less likely than typically developing children to use high levels of emotional regulation skills (Lugo-Candelas, Flegenheimer, McDermott, & Harvey, 2017).

New Zealand European, Māori and Chinese parents all believed their child displayed relatively high levels of prosocial skills and communication skills. In comparison, Indian parents perceived that their child used more prosocial skills and communication skills than the other cultural groups. Again, it is possible that the Indian parents in the present study continued to attribute their children's positive behaviour to their own parenting, resulting in higher ratings of their child's emotional regulation skills and prosocial and communication skills. However, in the interviews with Indian parents, it was often expressed that their children are to follow rules and be respectful of everyone, including elders, other children, and other people from different cultures. This may suggest that these children demonstrate

more prosocial skills/communication skills than children from other cultural groups because of the high expectations that the Indian families placed on these behaviours.

The findings in the current study are an original contribution to the research on the role of culture and parents' reports of their children's social competence among New Zealand European and Māori parents, as well as Indian and Chinese families living in Aotearoa New Zealand. These findings allow for comparisons to be made across cultures, and identify how culture can play a role towards parents' responses in regards to their child's social competence.

Implications for the New Zealand Population

As this research study explores parenting practices from individuals who represent a significant portion of the Aotearoa New Zealand population, there are a number of implications that are worthy of discussion. Firstly, the findings show that the consideration of culture is important when examining the types of parenting practices that are used by parents in Aotearoa New Zealand. Therefore, services who work with parents throughout Aotearoa New Zealand (e.g. Plunket and Oranga Tamariki) may like to consider examining the different ways cultural groups approach their parenting practices. More specifically, the findings will help to inform professionals working with children and parents to be empathetic of some of the challenges that parents may face in their everyday lives, such as separation from wider family support networks who are living back in their home country and barriers to engaging in important Māori practices such as te reo. These findings have implications for the types of opportunities that are provided to these parents, as connections and networking may help to build important relationships with others in order to feel supported in using various cultural practices. Secondly, the findings validate the importance of maintaining cultural practices in Aotearoa New Zealand, particularly for cultural groups who have moved

away from their home country. For instance, festivals (such as Holi) and ceremonies should be maintained and continued to be celebrated for those parents who wish to continue these practices with their children whilst living in Aotearoa New Zealand. Thirdly, some of the Māori families expressed the difficulty for not only themselves, but their children, to share their cultural identity. Therefore, it is important for educators and other professionals who work with children and parents to promote important elements of Māori culture and encourage the use of cultural practices outside of the home. Through the practice of manaakitanga (respect, support, kindness), professionals working with parents and children will be able to recognise and affirm the cultural identity of the person they are working with and create an environment for one to feel as though their cultural identity is worthy and respected. Lastly, these findings have the potential to strengthen community ties, as people may begin to discover and appreciate the similarities and differences that cultural groups share. This has the potential for communities to feel more connected, as parents may discover that they have more in common with other parents in the community than previously thought.

Strengths of the Study

The current study has many strengths worth mentioning. Firstly, the present study included the use of questionnaires and an interview measure to examine the role of culture on parenting practices and children's social competence. The inclusion of a mixed method approach was critical in obtaining rich data and personal experiences directly from families living in Aotearoa New Zealand about the way they choose to parent. It allowed for clear understandings of the role of culture, and the two methodologies supported one another, producing descriptive and informative results that were triangulated. Secondly, a vital contribution to the research includes the inclusion of both mothers and fathers. It was important that the present study provided fathers with the opportunity to describe their

parenting practices and report on their child's social competence, as previous research has been limited to the mother's perspective. Additionally, this allowed for comparisons to be made between mothers and fathers in relation to their parenting practices and their child's social competence, which provided a more reliable interpretation of the results. Finally, the present study is an original contribution to the field of parenting practices and children's social competence among the three dominant cultures in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Additionally, it is the first of its kind to compare and contrast, not only New Zealand European and Māori, but two differing Asian populations, Chinese and Indian, which are dominant in Aotearoa New Zealand. This study provides a solid base for future research to build on, particularly with regards to the unique parenting practices that were described by parents in this study.

Limitations

Despite the strengths of the study, there are several limitations worth mentioning. Firstly, the small group of families recruited from each culture did not allow differences in the quantitative subscales based on cultural groups to be examined. However, although the sample size was small, it was considered appropriate for collecting qualitative data, given the time intensive nature of the interviews and the in-depth information that was gathered in the interviews. Secondly, as mentioned previously, the self-report measures in the present study may have influenced self-reporter biases and socially desirable responding. Self-reports on parenting practices and their child's social competence may have allowed parents in the study to paint a picture of their ideal self and their ideal child. This had the potential to occur if parents believe that their child's behaviour is a reflection of them and their parenting.

Additionally, parents were generally basing their ratings off their children's behaviour displayed in the home, rather than reports from others who are with the children in other

social situations (e.g. teachers). However, the high conformity between mothers and fathers in this study suggests that parents' reports are likely to be an accurate description of their child's social competence. Thirdly, the present study was unable to report families as Māori, as there was only one parent in the family who identified as Māori/New Zealand European and the other parent identified as New Zealand European. This limited the ability for strong conclusions to be made about Māori only parenting practices within families, and is not considered generalizable to the Māori population. Lastly, the cronbach alpha scores for the individual subscales on the Parenting Practices Questionnaire indicated that the authoritarian and permissive subscales should be interpreted with caution. Additionally, these subscales only included a small number of items, and may not have provided a complete description about the different elements of these two parenting styles.

Future Research

As the sample size for the present study was small, future research should consider a larger sample of families in order to have the opportunities to gather more information in regards to mothers and fathers parenting practices and their children's social competence. Future researchers should also aim to recruit more families from each cultural group, as well as ensuring that those who identify with Māori also have a partner who is Māori. This recruitment may require more than just advertisements through flyers or social media, and it may be beneficial to actively seek out Māori organisations or communities to ensure a strong representation of Māori only parenting practices can be obtained and understood.

Additionally, due to time constraints to collect in-depth data, this study only examined two Asian cultures. Therefore, future research should consider examining the parenting practices of parents from all Asian cultures living in Aotearoa New Zealand for further understandings of similarities and differences. Furthermore, as it is advised to interpret the self-report data

with caution, future research may benefit from gathering more information about children's social competence from other adults, such as teachers. Moreover, the Parenting Practices Questionnaire, while adapted for this study and the NZ context, may still not be an accurate reflection of the types of behaviours and practices that are used by parents in Aotearoa New Zealand. Therefore, it may be useful to develop measures that tap into the unique parenting practices of parents living in Aotearoa New Zealand. Finally, if feasible, the inclusion of observational data of both parenting practices and children's social competence may be beneficial to get an objective measure of these behaviours, limiting potential biases. However, the inclusion of an interview was critical for the quality of results that were obtained in the present study, and should be considered for future studies who wish to explore the influence of cultural practices in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Conclusion

This study was the first of its kind to examine the types of parenting practices used by the three dominant cultures represented in Aotearoa New Zealand. The key findings of this study demonstrated the similarities and differences in parenting practices and children's social competence among New Zealand European, Māori, and Asian parents living in Aotearoa New Zealand. Whilst similarities existed, differences between the cultural groups allowed for a more in-depth insight into the role of culture, and how different cultural groups take on various values, ideas, and practices when it comes to parenting their child. It is recognized that Aotearoa New Zealand is a diverse country, and Aotearoa New Zealand is fortunate enough to have the opportunity to examine and reflect on the different parenting practices that all parents choose to use. Moreover, whilst there are similarities in the types of parenting practices used by all parents in the study, diversity should be encouraged, supported and learned from. In conclusion, the findings address the current gap in the literature on the

influence of culture on parenting practices and children's social competence among the three dominant cultural groups in Aotearoa New Zealand.

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Appendix A: Advertisement Flyer

PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Parenting, Culture and Children's Social Behaviour



UC
UNIVERSITY OF
CANTERBURY
Te Whare Wānanga o Hōriaka
CHRISTCHURCH NEW ZEALAND



Contact For More Information:

Name: Gabrielle Mulder
Email: gabrielle.mulder@pg.canterbury.ac.nz

Name: Dr Cara Swit
Email: cara.swit@canterbury.ac.nz

Parents of children between 3 and 5 years of age who identify as either New Zealand European, Māori or Asian

WHO?

WHAT?

Share your thoughts about parenting, cultural influences and your children's social behaviours.

WHERE?

University of Canterbury, Dovedale Campus

WHY?

To understand cultural influences on parenting and children's prosocial behaviours

Appendix B: Information Sheet – Parents



School of Health Sciences
Telephone: +64 3 3694408
Email: gabrielle.mulder@pg.canterbury.ac.nz
June 2018

The Influence of Culture on Parenting Practices and Children's Social Behaviour: A Multiple Case Study Information Sheet for Parent

Tēnā Koe,

My name is Gabrielle Mulder and I am a student at the University of Canterbury, studying a Master of Arts in Child and Family Psychology. I am the primary researcher facilitating this project and I am conducting this project as part of my Master's thesis.

The purpose of this research study is to explore the differences among New Zealand European, Māori and Asian (Chinese, Indian and Filipino) ethnic groups in relation to their parenting practices. The research study will also look into the potential differences among young children's social behaviour in relation to their ethnic grouping. The project aims to explore the views of 4-6 mothers and fathers from each of the ethnic groups. To be eligible to participate in this study, you need to identify as either New Zealand European, Māori or Asian descent (Chinese, Indian and Filipino) and have a child between the ages of 3-5 years. Additionally, step-parents who have been a primary caregiver in the child's life since birth are also eligible to participate.

If you choose to take part in this study, your involvement in this project will include participating in two questionnaires and a short interview. For the first questionnaire, you will be asked to report on different aspects of your parenting practices such as the ways in which you communicate and interact with your child. The second questionnaire will ask you to report on the different social behaviours your child uses such as they way they communicate and interact with their family/whānau and social peers. The two questionnaires will take approximately 30 minutes total to complete.

The short interview will include seven questions, and will give you the opportunity to share your perception about how your culture has influenced your parenting practices. The interview will take approximately 30-40 minutes. With your permission, the interview will be audio recorded in order to provide a more accurate representation of your interview and transcribed for data analysis. The total participation time for this study will be approximately 1 hour. Both the questionnaires and the interview will be completed separately from the other parent of your child.

Participation is voluntary and you have the right to withdraw at any stage without penalty. You may ask for your raw data to be returned to you or destroyed at any point. If you withdraw, I will remove information relating to you. However, once analysis of raw data starts on 1st August 2018, it will become increasingly difficult to remove the influence of your data on the results.

The results of the project may be published, but you may be assured of the complete confidentiality of data gathered in this investigation: your identity will not be made public without your prior consent. To ensure anonymity and confidentiality, your identity will not be revealed to any one outside the research team, as there will be no names used for identifying the information. A unique code for each family and individual family member will be assigned to both the questionnaires and the interview data. No one outside of the research team will be able to have access to your information. The interview recordings will be uploaded onto a secure University of Canterbury server, which will be password protected. The recordings will be also be transcribed, and then deleted from the device. The transcripts will then be stored in a password protected folder on a computer and only be accessible to the research team. You will also have the opportunity to view your own transcript. Each participant will be given a participant ID number to ensure their transcript is confidential. The completed questionnaires will be stored in a securely locked office at the University of Canterbury and will only be accessible to the research team. The data will be destroyed 5 years after the completion of the project. A thesis is a public document and will be available through the UCLibrary.

Please indicate to the researcher on the consent form if you would like to receive a copy of the summary of results of the project.

Family Psychology, and supervised by Dr Cara Swit from the School of Health Sciences at the University of Canterbury who can be contacted at cara.swit@canterbury.ac.nz. She will be pleased to discuss any concerns you may have about participation in the project.

This project has been reviewed and approved by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee, and participants should address any complaints to The Chair, Human Ethics Committee, University of Canterbury, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch (human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz).

If you agree to participate in the study, you are asked to complete the consent form and return to Gabrielle Mulder, by emailing through a signed copy to gabrielle.mulder@pg.canterbury.ac.nz. If you are unable to do so, a hard copy is welcome on the day of participation

Ngā mihi,

Gabrielle Mulder

If you would like to seek help or more information about parenting, please contact:

Plunketline:

Free advice on child health and parenting issues.

Phone: 0800 933 922

Available 7 days a week, 7am – midnight.

Parent Helpline:

Free helpline for parents/whānau

Phone: 0800 568 856

Available 9am – 9pm Monday to Sunday

Healthline:

24-hour advice line providing support for parents/whānau
Phone: 0800 611 116

If you or your family/whānau are requiring a service that is sensitive to the needs of your cultural group, please contact:

Te Puawaitanga ki Ōtoutahi Trust

Provides a range of health, education and social services that are available for whānau and are delivered in their homes.

Phone: 0800 66 99 57

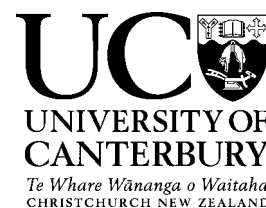
Website: www.whanauoraservices.co.nz

Asian Family Services (AFS)

Provides free, professional, confidential, nationwide face-to-face or telephone support to Asians living in New Zealand

Phone: 0800 862 342

Appendix C: Ethics Approval



HUMAN ETHICS COMMITTEE

Ref: HEC 2018/52 16 July 2018

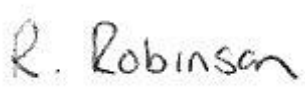
Gabrielle Mulder Health Sciences UNIVERSITY OF CANTERBURY

Dear Gabrielle

The Human Ethics Committee advises that your research proposal “The Influence of Culture on Parenting Practices and Children's Social Behaviour” has been considered and approved.

Please note that this approval is subject to the incorporation of the amendments you have provided in your emails of 25th June and 10th July 2018.

Best wishes for your project. Yours sincerely

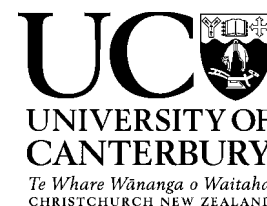
pp. 

Professor Jane Maidment

Chair

University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee

Appendix D: Consent Form – Parents



Department: School of Health Sciences
Telephone: +64 3 3694408
Email:
gabrielle.mulder@pg.canterbury.ac.
nz

The Influence of Culture on Parenting Practices and Children's Social Behaviour: A Multiple Case Study Consent Form for Parent

If you agree to participate in this study, can you please tick the boxes next to each of the statements below to confirm that you have read and understood the information:

- ☐ I have been given a full explanation of this project and have had the opportunity to ask questions.
- ☐ I understand what is required of me if I agree to take part in the research.
- ☐ I understand that participation is voluntary and I may withdraw at any time without penalty. Withdrawal of participation will also include the withdrawal of any information I have provided should this remain practically achievable.
- ☐ I understand that any information or opinions I provide will be kept confidential to the researcher and the senior supervisor, and that any published or reported results will not identify the participants. I understand that a thesis is a public document and will be available through the UC Library.
- ☐ I understand that all data collected for the study will be kept in locked and secure facilities and/or in password protected electronic form and will be destroyed after five years.
- ☐ I understand the risks associated with taking part and how they will be managed.
- ☐ I understand that I can contact the researcher (Gabrielle Mulder, email: gam97@uclive.ac.nz) or supervisor (Cara Swit, email: cara.swit@canterbury.ac.nz; phone: +64 3 3694408) for further information. If I have any complaints, I can contact the Chair of the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch (human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz)
- ☐ I would like a summary of the results of the project.
- ☐ By signing below, I agree to participate in this research project.

Name: _____ Signed: _____ Date: _____

Email address (for report of findings, if applicable): _____

Please return to Gabrielle Mulder, by emailing through a signed copy to gam97@uclive.ac.nz. If you are unable to do so, a hard copy is welcome on the day of participation

Appendix E: Parenting Practices Questionnaire

Parenting Practices Questionnaire (PPQ)

Name: _____

Date: _____



Ethnicity (*circle*): New Zealand European / Māori / Chinese / Indian / Filipino

Parent Completing Questionnaire (*circle*): Mother / Father

Gender of your Child (*circle*): Male / Female

Age of Child: _____

If you have more than one child between the ages of 3-5, please focus on one child whilst answering the questionnaires.

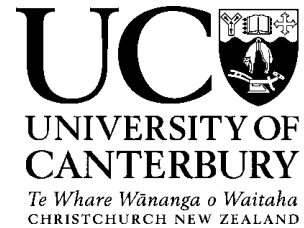
Please make one rating per question regarding how often you exhibit this behaviour with your child.

| | Never (1) | Once in a While (2) | About Half of the Time (3) | Very Often (4) | Always (5) |
|--|--------------|------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------|---------------|
| I know the name of my child's friends | | | | | |
| I explain the consequences of my child's behaviour | | | | | |
| I take into account my child's preferences in making plans for the family | | | | | |
| I am easy going and relaxed with my child | | | | | |
| I raise my voice when my child misbehaves | | | | | |
| I manage my child's behaviour by taking away privileges with little explanation | | | | | |
| I am aware of the problems or concerns about my child in school | | | | | |
| I give my child reasons why rules should be obeyed | | | | | |
| I argue with my child | | | | | |

| | | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| I give praise when my child is good | | | | | |
| I allow my child to interrupt others | | | | | |
| I appear confident about my parenting abilities | | | | | |
| I tell my child what to do | | | | | |
| I allow my child to give input into family rules | | | | | |
| I show patience with my child | | | | | |
| I manage my child's behaviour by putting my child somewhere alone with little explanation | | | | | |
| I criticize to make my child improve | | | | | |
| I take my child's desires into account before asking my child to do something | | | | | |
| I allow my child to annoy others | | | | | |
| I appear unsure on how to solve my child's misbehaviours | | | | | |
| I joke and play with my child | | | | | |
| I emphasize the reasons for rules | | | | | |

Appendix F: Social Competence Scale – Parent Form

Social Competence Scale – Parent (P – COMP)



Please indicate how well each of the statements describes your child.

| | Not at all (1) | A little (2) | Moderately Well (3) | Well (4) | Very Well (5) |
|---|---------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|
| My child can accept things not going his/her way | | | | | |
| My child copes well with failure | | | | | |
| My child thinks before acting | | | | | |
| My child works out problems with friends or siblings on his/her own | | | | | |
| My child can calm down by himself/herself when excited or all wound up | | | | | |
| My child does what he/she is told what to do | | | | | |
| My child is very good at understanding other people's feelings | | | | | |
| My child controls his/her temper when there is a disagreement | | | | | |
| My child shares things with others | | | | | |
| My child is helpful to others | | | | | |
| My child listens to others' points of view | | | | | |
| My child can give suggestions and opinions without being bossy | | | | | |

Appendix G: Interview Questions

Questions

1. Tell me about yourself
 2. What culture/cultural group(s) do you identify with?
 3. How would you describe your parenting style?
 4. Who was your main model for your parenting?
 5. In relation to your child(ren), what are the sleep routines in your household?
 6. How do you think your cultural identify has influenced the way that you parent?
 7. What are some of the key values that guide your parenting?
 8. What advice would you give to your child(ren) about raising and parenting your grandchildren (mokopuna)?
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